ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA

IN

LEGEND AND HISTORY

CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST

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ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA

IN

LEGEND AND HISTORY

BY

CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST

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FOREWORD

It is not the purpose of this history to pronounce upon the truth or falsity of what has been believed about St. George of Cappadocia, but to collect theories that have been advocated concerning him, legends that have been told of him as true, allegory and romance that have grown up around him, facts significant of his influence upon men and nations, and changes of spirit toward him in the course of the centuries. St. George is the Great Martyr, the Evergreen One, of the Greek Church and the East, invoked not only by Christians but also by Mohammedans, and he was the recipient of the most extraordinary devotion of the militant West from the Crusades to the Reformation. In Church legends he is presented as a saint, and allegorically as a Christian hero who slays a dragon and rescues a princess; from that allegory he was transformed into a romantic hero of ballads, tales and plays, sometimes with a religious cast and sometimes without it; and later he passed from a romantic hero to a mock heroic butt of the Christmas mummers. As the special patron of secular and religious Societies and

Orders in all Christendom he was a great influence in inspiring men, and as the patron of nations his influence has been beyond computing. Copt and Syrian, Roman and Greek, Teuton, Celt and Slav, all have called upon him in need and built monuments to his honour. As his Legend comes down through the centuries and spreads out through the length and breadth of Christendom his history seems a kind of sublimated biography, a rich document in the psychology of man.

But such history and biography as St. George's offer a peculiar difficulty, the impossibility of drawing a line between fact and fiction. Many of the 'facts' have been proved fiction, and we must frankly admit that the future will see others shifted to the category of the legendary or the allegorical, where they are still of importance to history, for they influenced the ideals of those who told and those who heard, and gave impulse toward action.

It is fit that I should acknowledge here with gratitude my indebtedness to the Library of Congress and the libraries of our great universities, which have by lending books on application made my work possible, and also to the kind friends and scholars who have assisted me in securing references and sources. Of these are Dr. J. E. Matzke of Leland Stanford Jr. University, Miss Eleanor P. Hammond of Chicago University, and Mrs. Rasmus B. Anderson of Madison, Wisconsin. Abroad, Col. and Mrs. van Bijlevelt, Judge and Mrs. van Dannenburgh, and Miss

H. S. S. Kuyper of the Hague, and Col. Andrea Cerri of Turin, have assisted me with references and notes, material perhaps not previously printed, as well as references to published works. I have obtained such material also by correspondence from the Burgomasters of Roermond and Heel in the Netherlands, and Furth im Wald, Germany, from Mr. Jan Kalf, Secretary Rijks Monumenten, 's Gravenhage; Jhr. Mr. A. F. O. van Sasse van Ysselt, 's Hertogenbosch; and Mr. H. J. A. Flament, The Rijks-archivaris, Maestricht, Limburg. The facts concerning the Red Cross of the Society of that name were supplied me in letters by Miss Clara Barton, and M. Henri Dunant, the founder of the Society. A few points of interest in Sicilian history are from Prof. Enrico Celani of the Ufficio Bibliografico, Rome; and a considerable body of new material on the veneration of St. George at present in Syria has come to me from Mr. Salem Ghareeb, formerly a student at the school of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Dr. J. E. Matzke and the Honourable Rasmus B. Anderson for reading my manuscript and proof—a gratitude commensurate with my reverence for their scholarship.

With no intention of writing a book, only a great admiration for the dragon-slayer and interest in the frequent references to him in literature, perhaps also stimulated by the difficulty of finding anything definite

about him, I collected a large part of the material here printed. By good fortune I discovered that he was greatly reverenced in many nations, and my study took early an international turn. Finally, realising that I had entered upon various lines of research and had developed points in the evolution of the legend not appreciated by scholars who had written upon it, I undertook it as a quest. The aimlessness of the early part of my study and the difficulties of working in a locality distant from the sources of material will account for some of the imperfections of my book. There are various lines of research, especially in Turkey, Russia, Sicily, Spain, and Normandy, that would be valuable if followed, but I can only recommend them to others who become interested in the quest and can study on the spot.

MRS. HENRY HULST.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.

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ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA IN LEGEND AND HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY AND THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

In 494 the learned Pope Gelasius issued a warning[1] to the Roman Church against believing certain 'forged false Acts of St. George,' and placed this saint among those 'whose virtues and names are rightly adored among men, but whose actions are known only to God.' This is the first reference that has been found to St. George in the West, and it is evidence that an apocryphal version of his life had been accepted for a sufficient time and to a sufficient extent to call for public notice and action by a Council of the Church. The warning of the Pope did not, however, put an end to European Legends of St. George, which became very popular throughout the Roman Church in the Middle Ages, when St. George was the first on the list of saints to be appealed to in need. At the time of the Reformation there was a reconsideration of his Legend, and Calvin[2] classed him as a mythical saint, a view that

[1] Matzke, xvii. p. 464; also Fleming, pp. 5–8; also *Acta Sanctorum*.

[2] Butler, April 23; Heylyn, Chap. iii. Part i., quoting the Institutes, Book iii.

has since been widely adopted by protestants. Heylyn,[1] who wrote for Charles I. as an Anglican apologist to prove that St. George was not a mere myth, held that there were two saints by the name of George, one heretical and one orthodox, the former an Arian Bishop of Alexandria, the latter the true St. George of Cappadocia; but Gibbon[2] in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* treats the two as identical, and since his time many have accepted this view on his authority, making St. George not only an Arian and a heretic, but a most disreputable person, a dishonest buyer of meat for the imperial army in his native district of Cappadocia, a fugitive from justice, and a merciless tyrant to his adopted city of Alexandria, where he pillaged pagan temples and impoverished Christians and pagans alike, until in the reign of Julian he was imprisoned for maladministration, killed by an enraged mob, and finally, because he died a Christian at the hands of pagans, was enrolled with the saints in the Greek Church and later adopted among those of the Roman Calendar.

Gibbon overlooked the fact that St. George was venerated before the Arian Bishop of Alexandria ran his dubious course, and since his time various scholars have shown not only that St. George of Cappadocia was venerated as early as the reign of Constantine the Great, but that the legend of St. George has parts which are outgrowths of earlier pagan myths.

[1] Heylyn, Chap. ii. Part i.
[2] Gibbon, Vol. ii. 37, 38.

Von Gutschmid[1] (1861) showed that Cappadocia, where the legend of St. George was localised and whence it spread, was under Persian influence during the centuries when it took form, and that the Persian myth of Mithra added incidents and character to the legend, which probably led to its condemnation by the Roman Council. The Persian myth offers various strong parallels to the apocryphal legend, as that both had a triple death and a white horse. Also Mithra was a splendid servant of the sun-god and fought the powers of darkness, his festival was celebrated on April 23, and his name was *Commander of the Fields;* while St. George is the Servant of God, his festival is celebrated on April 23, and his name, *George*, is in the Greek cognate or synonymous with the word for a *husbandman* or *tiller of the earth*, and is literally translated from the Persian name for Mithra. Clermont-Ganneau[2] (1876) showed a connexion between the allegory of St. George and the Dragon and the Coptic myth of Horus, as well as a connexion of both with the Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda. Doubtless a knowledge of these studies would have led Gibbon to a different conclusion.

Most of the late historians of the Church identify St. George with the young man whose name is not mentioned but whose martyrdom is told by Eusebius[3] in the following

[1] Von Gutschmid, *Ber. der Säch. Ges. der Wiss. Phil. Hist.*, Classe xiii., 1861, pp. 186–8, 194–201.

[2] Clermont-Ganneau, 'Horus et Saint Georges,' in *Revue Archéologique* Nouvelle Série, Paris, 1876, pp. 196, 372–382.

[3] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. viii. 5.

passage: 'No sooner was the edict made against the Church exposed in Nicomedia than presently one of no common rank but very highly advanced in fortune and in worldly honours, moved by zeal for God and a lively faith, tore it to pieces as profane and impious in the very place where it was openly posted. And this he did while two of the Emperors were present in the city, viz., Diocletian, who was the first, and Galerius Maximus, who was the fourth in rank amongst them. He was the first who was ennobled for his sufferings at the time, on whom no doubt there was inflicted whatever punishment might be thought answerable to the fact, which he endured with the most quiet and untroubled mind, and so continued to the end.' Early legends and historians do not connect this account with St. George, and the Greek Church commemorates this martyr under the name of John, and not on April 23, St. George's Day.[1]

After the time of Pope Gelasius the Roman Church accepted, not as infallible, but so far as they seem humanly credible, certain incidents told in the apocryphal version, condemned by the Pope. These are characterised in general by the connexion of the legend with the persecutions of Diocletian and by the less numerous and incredible tortures and miracles of the saint.

The name of Diocletian was first introduced into the legend in the Greek *Encomium* by Andreas, the Archbishop of Crete, in the seventh or eighth century. Many variations occur in Western accounts, and until the twelfth century

[1] Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, Preface, xxx.

no manuscript contained the allegorical incident of the dragon and the rescued maiden. In some modern *Lives of the Saints*, as in Butler's, none of the miracles or incidents of martyrdom are given, but in others they are at present practically as they were in medieval versions throughout the Western Church. The *Vita San Giorgio*, published in 1903 in Genoa, may serve as an example. We shall accordingly examine first this version of the Roman Church, then the apocryphal version of the Greek Church, and some facts of the spread of the veneration of St. George and his influence among the nations, exclusive of romantic developments and of the dragon incident. Finally we shall follow the evolution under the spirit of allegory and romance which moulded later development, especially after the introduction of the dragon incident.

In *Vita San Giorgio*[1] St. George is of Cappadocian birth and an officer of the imperial army when Diocletian is persecuting the Christians. He announces his faith, and, refusing to abjure it, is bound, at the command of the Emperor, to a wheel fitted with sharp knives. He is comforted by a voice which speaks to him from a cloud: 'Doubt not, O George, my servant, for I am with thee, and many because of thee shall embrace my faith.' Immediately upon the disappearance of the cloud an angel comes, who, in the presence of the executioners, takes him from the wheel and restores him to his pristine condition, whereupon he turns to the Emperor, saying: 'Behold, my God has saved me,' and converts many to

[1] Sac. Gio. Batta Toso, Prevosto di San Giorgio di Moneglia, Genoa.

Christianity, among them two Tribunes of the army and the Empress Alessandra, all of whom later suffer martyrdom for their faith. St. George is thrown into a hot furnace and kept there three days, but issues unscathed, as did the three Hebrews from the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar; Diocletian has iron shoes with sharp points fastened to his feet by means of red-hot nails, but St. George is able by fervent prayers to endure this also triumphantly, and obeys the Emperor's order to walk, his face radiant with joy, and as if he has nothing on his feet; Diocletian has him scourged, and he endures it, glorying in that he is deemed worthy of the same torment that Christ suffered. Many believers now come to hear his admonitions and seek his aid, not only for spiritual but also for temporal matters, and for them he does miracles, as when he brings to life the dead ox of a widow. He also raises a man from the dead, who becomes a convert, begins preaching the Christian religion, and for this is put to death by the Emperor. The mage Athanasius is called in to contest with him, and gives St. George a drink of magic power, which is expected to change his sentiments; but he is not changed by it. He is next given a virulent poison. He drinks it, and is not injured. By these miracles the mage Athanasius is converted to Christ, and for confessing it is put to death by the Emperor. The Emperor next tries to win the saint by kindness, and at his request St. George goes to the Temple of Apollo, but makes no sacrifice, and challenges the pagan god at his own altar: 'Say to me, Apollo, art thou the God?' Through the mouth of

ALTICHIERI AND AVANZO—ST. GEORGE DRINKING POISON.
Painting in Chapel of St. George, Padua.

the statue the demon replies: 'No, I am not the God.' St. George, making the sign of the cross, commands Apollo, in the name of Christ, to be gone, and in a flash of lightning both idol and priest of Apollo fall to the earth in dust. When the saint is next brought into the presence of the Emperor, he is for the last time commanded to abjure his faith, and refuses. The Empress Alessandra turns to him and asks him to pray to the Christ for her, for she believes in the God of the Christians. Both Empress and saint are then ordered to be scourged and executed, are bound in chains and led away. Alessandra, weakened by the scourging, falls to the earth on the way and dies; and St. George, who is still chained to her, kneels in prayer to God, when a soldier strikes off his head. In the churches of Italy are many pictures of these scenes, in one of which God and the saints are witnessing the martyrdom, and an angel is descending with the crown of victory.

The older apocryphal version[1] rejected by Pope Gelasius is preserved in various manuscripts, the oldest of which at present known is supposed to date from about 450 and to be a translation of an earlier account. It purports to be written by Pasicrates,[2] the servant of St. George, who after the saint's fourth and final death took his body to Diospolis, his mother's home, for burial. This represents St. George as suffering under Datianus, king of Persia and seventy-two Greek kingdoms. Besides the incidents told in the West it has many additional miracles

[1] Budge, Coptic text and trans.; Matzke, xvii. 467–475. [2] Ibid.

and incidents of martyrdom. A heavy column which eighteen men cannot lift is placed upon the saint's body for one night, when God's angel appears to him and comforts him, telling him that he is to suffer for seven years, to be killed three times, and at his fourth death to enter Paradise. In the course of the tortures which follow he is torn into pieces by four machines; salt is sprinkled into his wounds and they are rubbed with coarse cloth; he is thrown into a large chest filled with sharp nails and barbed hooks; his head is pounded with a heavy hammer so that the brains ooze out through the nose; his body is beaten until one hundred wounds appear upon the back and forty upon the belly, but all of these tortures are either of no avail, or after them he is restored sound. He is cut into pieces on a wheel fitted with sharp knives, and the pieces are thrown into a well and sealed in with a large stone, but God sends his angel Michael in a storm and earthquake to bring the pieces together and Himself touches them to life. Datianus sends out a letter calling for a magician who will be strong enough to overcome what he considers the magic art of St. George. He chooses Athanasius to make the trial, for Athanasius proves great power by the magic that he does upon an ox, splitting it in twain by whispering into its ear and then uniting the parts, making the ox live again. Athanasius gives St. George two potions of poison, confesses the power of St. George's God when he sees the saint uninjured, and is thereupon executed by the Emperor for turning Christian. St. George is laid upon an iron bed and molten lead is poured into his mouth and over his

ST. GEORGE BROKEN ON THE WHEEL.

Altichiere and Avanzo. *Chapel of St. George, Padua.*

head, but this has no more effect upon him than cold water would have. His body is boiled to atoms in a caldron and the caldron is buried with its contents, but God and his angels again bring him back to life. He works very wonderful miracles. The Emperor tells him that if he can change fourteen thrones into trees and cause the trees to bear fruit or not according to the nature of their wood he will believe in the Christian's God. The martyr answers that he will do the miracle, not for the sake of the Emperor but for others present; and he does it. It is demanded that to show the power of his God he bring back those buried in a certain tomb, concerning whom nothing is known. He prays for the miracle to happen, and five men, nine women and three children come to life. One of the men testifies that he has been dead four hundred and sixty years, that he was a worshipper of Apollo when previously alive, and in consequence has been suffering punishment in a place filled with fire. Turning to St. George he asks for baptism. The martyr stamps his foot upon the ground, causes a spring to bubble forth, and administers the rite to all the resurrected, who then disappear. In the house of a poor widow, which he enters by command of the Emperor, he asks for some bread. The woman, to whom his face appears like that of an angel, goes to beg some bread of her neighbours. He sits down by the gable fork of the house, which at once grows fifteen cubits in height and bears fruit, while an angel from heaven brings down bread. When the woman returns and sees the miracles she kneels and confesses Christ. The tortures and miracles of the

apocryphal version are too numerous for our mention, but in the earlier centuries they were told as edifying, and as fortifying those who had tortures to endure—and might have been studied as capable of giving points to inquisitors.

Heylyn, who holds that there were two St. Georges, one Arian and one orthodox, urges in his examination of the St. George legend that the incident of Alexandra and Athanasius is allegorical in nature and was made by the Arians to discredit the great Athanasius:[1] 'Every man knoweth that the enemies of St. Athanasius accused him of Sorcerie and Magicke; and that his capital enemie was *George the Arian*, which intruded himself into the Church of *Alexandria:* whence it is evident that this their George can be no other, than that *Arian Hereticke.*' By this interpretation Alexandra, the Empress, is the imperial city suffering destruction for her heresy. It will be remembered that the West condemned the Arian George and approved Athanasius. This incident may be one which convinced Gibbon that the Arian George was the same Cappadocian, and Pope Gelasius that his legend was heresy. If this incident was originally allegorical, as seems likely, it was told as literally true in the version of Pasicrates, which localises the legend in Cappadocia and represents St. George as buried in Diospolis after being beheaded. There is no dragon combat in Pasicrates' version, but the Emperor is called a dragon, which gives a possible departing point for a later allegorical growth, where the princess may be rescued by the saint for the eternal life. Friedrich[2] (1899)

[1] Heylyn, Chap. ii. 35–39. [2] Friedrich, p. 181.

PAUL VERONESE—THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. GEORGE.
Painting in Ch. of St. George, Verona.

thinks that even the Arian George is not all historical, for he holds that the account in which the saint is burned and his ashes thrown into the sea, as at Alexandria, is the earlier, and Eastern, and quotes a Mohammedan version in which, after he has been killed three times and resurrected twice, the ashes of the martyr are thrown into the Tigris. He also holds that the localisation of the legend in Cappadocia is a Western growth, with a change in the manner of death to make credible the burial of the body at Diospolis. This last is the form of the legend adopted by Constantine the Great, who honoured the burial place at Diospolis by erecting there a church at the home and tomb of the saint: and this is the form which was spread through the Western world.

The Legend of St. George in its purest form is given in the preceding pages, and it will be found with variations throughout Christendom. Later, especially after the Crusades, romantic additions and changes were introduced, which will be presented in a later chapter. While it was still told with purely religious intent, as in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, symbolism interpreted the name Georgius, Tiller of the Fields, into moral signification, as that the cultivation of this heavenly husbandman secured the virtues of valleys and plains in their fruitfulness.

CHAPTER II

THE ALLEGORY OF ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

THOUGH the Roman Church has always officially pronounced against even the legend of St. George of Cappadocia[1] and held that the incident of the combat with a dragon to rescue an endangered princess is to be interpreted as allegory, there is no doubt that even the dragon has been widely believed in as true. No single fact of this saint's life can be regarded as authentic, and on this the most thoroughgoing of modern scholars and John Calvin, of the Reformation (who judged St. George a myth) are not more pronounced than the Roman Pope Gelasius, who in 494, speaking in Council on the authenticity of religious books, warned the Church against believing the acts commonly reported of St. George and declared his true acts to be known only to God.

But though popes, councils, reformers and scholars agreed on the beautiful and heroic legend of St. George, it would not die, and especially the allegory of the dragon and the rescued princess has thriven from age to age throughout Christendom, and still lives a vigorous life at the beginning of our latest century. It ornaments the memorial church of William I., late Emperor of Germany,

[1] *Acta Sanctorum;* Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, April 23.

and is carved in stone over the main entrance of his Reichstag in Berlin; it is behind the throne of the Czar in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg; and in London it is over the Royal entrance to the House of Lords and on the ceiling of the main corridor leading to the House of Commons. Many cities of Europe had it as a symbol in, or on, their City Hall, and Venice had it on the Doge's Palace overlooking the lagoons. It was used in medieval times on various Italian, German and French coins, and is still used on Russian, English and Canadian.[1] It has been the subject of numberless modern and medieval works of art, and wherever it is used, it is a symbol of the struggle to put down evil and maintain the good.

The Greek Church, which was naturally the first to render St. George homage, from very early times represented him with a dragon under his feet and a crowned virgin at his side, a symbolical way of saying that he overcame Sin, for the dragon represents the Devil, called the Dragon in the Apocalypse, and the crowned maiden represents the Church. It is likely that in such pictures the Church utilised for its allegory the earlier pagan representations of Horus and the crocodile and of Perseus and Andromeda, for it followed a policy which preserved to each flock added to the Christian fold the precious things evolved in the pagan past if these were capable of Christian interpretation. Such a policy in the case of the Great Martyr would be parallel with that which gave Easter and Christmas to the Church of Western and

[1] Hazlitt, *Coinage of the European Continent.*

Northern Europe by turning pagan festivals to commemorate Christian events. It frequently employed such symbolism as that in the legend of St. George in representation of other saints, as St. Margaret and St. Theodore, the former of whom has a dragon under her feet, the latter a crocodile.

As early as the time of Constantine part of the St. George legend [1] had been adopted, for Constantine had in his palace in Constantinople a cross at whose feet a dragon lay, its body pierced, to signify the old fiend that through the godless wages war against the Church. By the addition of the warrior who fought, the rescued Church, and the scene of the combat, this is the allegory of St. George.

But the Apocalypse itself, with its reference to the old Dragon, repeats in figure the language of the early Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek myths which offer parallels and are the real source of the dragon allegory of St. George. The study of ultimate sources and of parallels among myths, which were the expression of religious ideas of early times, is an exceedingly profitable study, though many of the questions raised are at present impossible of solution.

Perhaps the earliest myth [2] to which St. George goes back in allegory is the Persian myth of Mithra, the rider of the White Horse, who sent forth the young Merodach,

[1] Vetter, *Einleitung* to Reinbot von Durne's *Der Heilige Georg*, p. lxxviii.

[2] Budge, *Babylonian Life and History;* A. Smythe Palmer, D.D., *Babylonian Influence on the Bible and Popular Belief.*

RAPHAEL—ST. GEORGE IN COMBAT WITH THE DRAGON.
Painting in the Louvre, Paris.

or Bel, to engage in deadly conflict with the great dragon of darkness, Tiamat, when she rose from the depths of the sea to afflict gods and men. 'The radiance of the sun' went out to attack her. He 'set the lightning before him' and made 'the evil wind, the malignant wind, the storm, the tempest, and the seven deadly winds' his weapons, and when Tiamat opened her mouth to engulf him, he drove the mighty winds down her throat and 'made her heart afraid.' He destroyed her utterly, though she tore at him with tooth and claw, with jaws gaping wide as if to swallow him, while she tried to lift herself on extended wings. She is called 'the scaly Tiamat,' and she came after him 'coiling herself.'

> He bound her and her life he swallowed up,
> Her carcase he cast down, upon her he stood.

The early bricks and cones of Babylon often speak of Bel, the very earliest, B.C. 3800, mentions 'the Sun-god of Sippara.' A Babylonian relief in the British Museum represents this conflict. There is no white horse, and no rescued princess, but many of the characteristic features of our legend are present—the fearful sea monster with scales and wings, the splendid and very young hero, the thrust into the throat.

In Egyptian mythology, Horus, the young son of Osiris, slays a crocodile monster, pursuing it on a horse. In general, the horse played small part in Egyptian life, but was adopted into this myth because it was useful in pursuit, as is explained in the passage in

Plutarch's *Treatise on Osiris and Isis*, where Osiris, at the moment when Horus prepares himself for combat, asks which animal will be the most useful. 'The horse,' answers Horus. Osiris, astonished, asks why not the lion, and Horus replies that the horse permits a warrior to kill the enemy who flees. In the bas-relief of Horus slaying the crocodile, preserved in the Louvre and discussed by Clermont-Ganneau, the god, distinguished by a hawk's head, is slaying the monster, which is evidently fleeing from him, for it is headed in the same direction as his horse. This Egyptian myth is complicated by questions of tribal and other sympathies.[1] Pliny tells that in Egypt the tribe that worshipped the sparrowhawk made war upon the tribe that adored the crocodile, and put it to flight. The frequent representation of the conflict in later times in Egypt may be due to the fact that the victorious tribe in this way honoured its totem. But as early as the time of this conflict a higher religion may have been symbolised by the bird, and gross African fetichism by the crocodile, whom the people worshipped in fear. In this case the conflict was not only of tribes, but verily of gods. Herodotus[2] tells that the Egyptians of Thebes considered crocodiles sacred, tamed them, ornamented them with crystal and gold earrings and bracelets, fed them on sacred food, and embalmed them and buried them in sacred vaults when they died, but that people who lived in other parts of Egypt did

[1] Budge, *The Mummy*; Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*.
[2] Herodotus, trans. by White, pp. 98, 99, 100.

HORUS IN COMBAT WITH THE CROCODILE.

Egyptian bas-relief in Louvre, Paris.

not consider them sacred. Also he tells that at Thebes serpents were considered sacred. These crocodiles and serpents were symbols of Set, the god of darkness, who slew Osiris, the Sun himself,[1] and for many dynasties Set was a very popular god in Egypt. Kings then on their monuments called themselves 'beloved of Set,' and compared themselves to him for valour in battle, but a violent reaction began against him, his statues and figures were smashed, his effigy was hammered out from bas-reliefs, and he came to be considered the personification of all evil and the opponent of all good. A bronze figure of him which the British Museum possesses was bent double when it was found, evidently by a violent blow, given probably when this reaction against his worship occurred. In later times the defeat of Set by Horus, the young son of the Sun-god, was represented in Egypt, as in the bronze piece preserved in the Louvre. It was possibly by a Babylonian influence that this change of feeling toward the god of darkness came about.

The Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda arose late by contact of the Greeks with outside nations,[2] and it shows the influence of Egypt and Persia, for Perseus is descended from the Egyptian Io and Ægyptos, and Andromeda, according to Clermont-Ganneau,[3] is descended from Persian ancestors, Cadmus and Phœnix.[4] According to Taylor, there is a lunar eclipse myth,

[1] Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 276, 277.
[2] Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges.*
[3] Ibid.
[4] Taylor, *Aryans*, p. 303.

and she is the Babylonian moon-goddess, Istar. The monster that threatens her is called in the Greek *Drakon*. Now the ancient cruel god of Syria was *Dagon*, a fish-like monster, worshipped in fear, and if the Greek *Drakon* is *Dagon* the myth may represent the supplanting of the cruel sea-monster by the superior gods of the nations in proximity to the Syrians, and a rise in their religion. Perseus is called in the myth 'a Shining One,' and poor humanity is set free. A particularly interesting parallel to this defeat suffered by Dagon would be that told in 1 Sam. v., when he falls down on his face before the Ark of Jehovah.

A question of very great interest in the study of these myths is that of their localisation in Syria,[1] where the influence of Babylon, Egypt, and Greece was felt, where the St. George legend rose and is localised, and from whence it spread. Perseus is said to have killed Drakon at Joppa, on the Syrian coast; St. George is said to have killed the dragon at Beirut, and both of these cities are near Lydda, or Diospolis, where St. George's tomb and memorial church were erected, and where there was a belief that Christ would come to fight a personal combat with Antichrist, for which encounter he would approach riding an ass. This great combat was expected to occur at the portal of the Basilica of St. George, over which there was a representation of St. George's combat. A further parallel is in the fact that the name of Perseus meant derivatively horse-and-rider. Many of the repre-

[1] Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges.*

GUIDO RENI—ST. MICHAEL IN COMBAT WITH APOLLYON.

Mosaic in Ch. of Capucins, Rome.

BAZZI—ST. MICHAEL IN COMBAT WITH APOLLYON.
Painting in Sforza Castello, Milan. Cf. "image de piété," p. 114.

sentations of St. George are without his horse, and are so like those of St. Michael in combat with Apollyon, (which represents the combat in pure spirit as St. George represents it in the physical world,) that they could not be distinguished except by the wings of the angel and the red cross of the saint. In many St. George does not have a dragon, but stands—often in attendance on the Virgin and Child.

The myth of Perseus and Andromeda had taken its final form before the birth of Christ, and was admirably told in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (B.C. 43–A.D. 18). It ends with the marriage of the pair, which was a feature of the romances of St. George, but not of his allegory, though the offer of marriage is sometimes made to the saint. The translation is as follows, made by Dryden, Pope, Congreve, and Addison :[1]

Now Aeolus has with strong chains confined,
And deep imprisoned every blustering wind.
The rising Phospher with a purple light,
Did sluggish mortals to new toils invite.
His feet again valiant Perseus plumes,
And his keen sabre in his hand resumes.
Then nobly spurns the ground and upward springs,
And cuts the liquid air with sounding wings.
O'er various seas and various lands he passed,
Till Ethiopia's shore appeared at last.
Andromeda was there, doom'd to atone
By her own ruin follies not her own :

[1] Fleming, *Hist. of St. George*, quoting trans.

And if injustice in a god can be,
Such was the Libyan god's unjust decree.
Chain'd to a rock she stood; young Perseus stay'd
His rapid flight to view the beauteous maid.
So sweet her frame, so exquisitely fine,
She seemed a statue by a hand divine,
Had not the wind her waving tresses show'd,
And down her cheeks the melting sorrows flow'd.
The admirer almost had forgot to fly,
And swift descended, fluttering from on high.
'Thy country and thy name' he said, 'disclose,
And give a true rehearsal of thy woes.'
A quick reply her bashfulness refused,
To the free converse of a man unused.
Her rising blushes had concealment found
From her spread hands, but that her hands were bound:
She acted to her full extent of power,
And bathed her face with a fresh, silent shower.
But, by degrees, in innocence grown bold,
Her name, her country, and her birth she told;
And how she suffered for her mother's pride,
Who with the Nereids once in beauty vied.
Part yet untold, the seas began to roar,
And mounting billows tumbled to the shore.
Above the waves a monster raised his head,
His body o'er the deep was widely spread,
Onward he flounced; aloud the virgin cries,
Each parent to her shrieks in shrieks replies;
But she had deepest cause to rend the skies.
Weeping, to her they cling, no sign appears
Of help, they only lend their helpless tears.
'Too long you vent your sorrows,' Perseus said;
'Short is the hour, and swift the time of aid:

PERSEUS RESCUING ANDROMEDA FROM DRAKON.

Mural fresco from Pompeii, in Museum, Naples.

In me, the son of thundering Jove behold,
Got in a kindly shower of fruitful gold :
Medusa's snaky head is now my prey ;
And through the clouds I boldly wing my way.
If such desert be worthy of esteem,
And if your daughter I from death redeem,
Shall she be mine ? Shall it not be thought,
A bride so lovely was too cheaply bought ? '

* * * * *

The parents eagerly the terms embrace,
For who would slight such terms in such a case ?
Nor her alone they promise, but beside,
The dowry of a kingdom with the bride.
As well-rigged galleys, which slaves, sweating row,
With their sharp beaks the whiten'd ocean plough,
So, when the monster moved, still at his back
The furrow'd waters left a foamy track.
Now to the rock he was advanced so nigh,
Whirl'd from a sling a stone the space would fly,
Then, bounding upwards, the brave Perseus sprung,
And in mid air on hovering pinions hung.
His shadow quickly floated on the main ;
The monster could not his wild rage restrain,
But at the floating shadow leap'd in vain.
As when Jove's bird a speckled serpent spies,
Which in the shine of Phoebus basking lies,
Unseen he souses down, and bears away,
Truss'd from behind, the vainly hissing prey,
To writhe his neck the labour naught avails,
Too deep the imperial talons pierce his scales :
Thus the winged hero now descends, now soars,
And at his pleasure the vast monster gores.
Full in his back, swift stooping from above,
The crooked sabre to its hilt he drove,

The monster raged, impatient of the pain,
First bounded high, and then sank low again.
Now, like a savage boar, when chaffed with wounds,
And bay'd with opening mouths of hungry hounds,
He on the foe turns with collected might,
Who still eludes him with an airy flight!
And wheeling round, the scaly armour tries
Of his thick sides, his thinner tail now plies;
Till, from repeated strokes, out gushed a flood,
And the waves redden'd with the streaming blood.
At last the drooping wings, befoam'd all o'er,
With flaggy heaviness their master bore.
A rock he spied, whose humble head was low,
Bare at an ebb, but covered at a flow.
A ridgy hold he, thither flying, gained,
And with one hand his bending weight sustained;
With the other vigorous blows he dealt around,
And the home thrusts the expiring monster own'd.
In deaf'ning shouts the glad applauses rise,
And peal on peal runs rattling through the skies.
The saviour youth the royal pair confess,
And with heaved hands their daughter's bridegroom bless.
The beauteous bride moves on, now loosed from chains,
The cause and sweet reward of all the hero's pains.

The Pompeiian pre-Christian mural painting of Perseus slaying Drakon and rescuing Andromeda represents him without a horse, and this poetic version represents him as having wings to plume his feet, but, as has been said, derivatively the name of *Perseus* meant horse-and-rider, which possibly the Greeks had forgotten.

We have seen that Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, began the development of the

The draught of St George, coppied out
of a Booke in Mr Jo: Tradescants Closet
wherein are neatly Limned the windows
&c. 35d of St Sophias Church at Constantinople

SIR JOHN TRADESCANT, 14TH CENT.

Drawing of window in Ch. of St. Sophia, Constantinople. Cf., ikon, p. 116.

Christian allegory of a dragon slain. How soon it was completely developed we do not know. Constantine built churches to St. George, but it is not likely that he used the allegory of his rescuing a princess from a dragon. The first written account of St. George's life, that by Pasicrates,[1] does not contain a dragon incident. When it was finally developed the beautiful princess was not named Andromeda, as in the Greek myth, but Sophia, Wisdom, as she is still named in the Russian versions of the story, and this name is the key to the interpretation given to the allegory. The development of the allegory must have occurred before the naming the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, and probably a considerable time before the adoption of the combat of St. George with the dragon as the seal of Moscow, which occurred in the ninth century. The earliest Greek and Russian account of the dragon combat, published in a Russian[2] study of St. George, is more deeply religious than the first versions in the West of Europe, which have a noticeable tendency toward romantic details.

The first account of the combat of St. George with the dragon which reached many people in Western Europe was that published by Jacobus de Voragine, a bishop in Genoa, 1280–1298, where St. George was the special patron. The *Legenda Aurea*, or *Golden Legend*, became popular throughout Europe and was translated into most of the languages, in one form or another.

[1] Pasicrates, *Martyrdom of St. George of Cappadocia*, trans. by Budge.
[2] Veselovskij, *Studies in Russian Poetry*.

A free translation of it is the following Scandinavian Ballad, which was sung by the Swedes when they entered the Battle of Brunkeberg in 1473,[1] while their opponents, the Danes, entered shouting the battle-cry of St. George. The Swedes won the battle, and for it placed as a votive offering in their Church of St. Nicholas the fine piece of wood carving representing St. George in combat, which is now in the Historical Museum of Stockholm.[2] The ballad has continued to be sung in Scandinavia for five hundred years:[3]

'St. George, mine errand thou shalt ride,
My true and loyal knight,
At Tabiam, that mighty town,
Against the Dragon fight.

'Outside the gate there lies a pool,
And well 'tis walled with stone;
Therein a lonely dragon dwells,
The bane of all the town.

'Each day he doth some wretch devour,
Or puffs his poisonous breath,
And who inhales its baneful stench,
Is doomed to speedy death.'

The King and Emperor counsel took,
The rich and eke the poor,
Who to the Dragon next should go
And whom he should devour.

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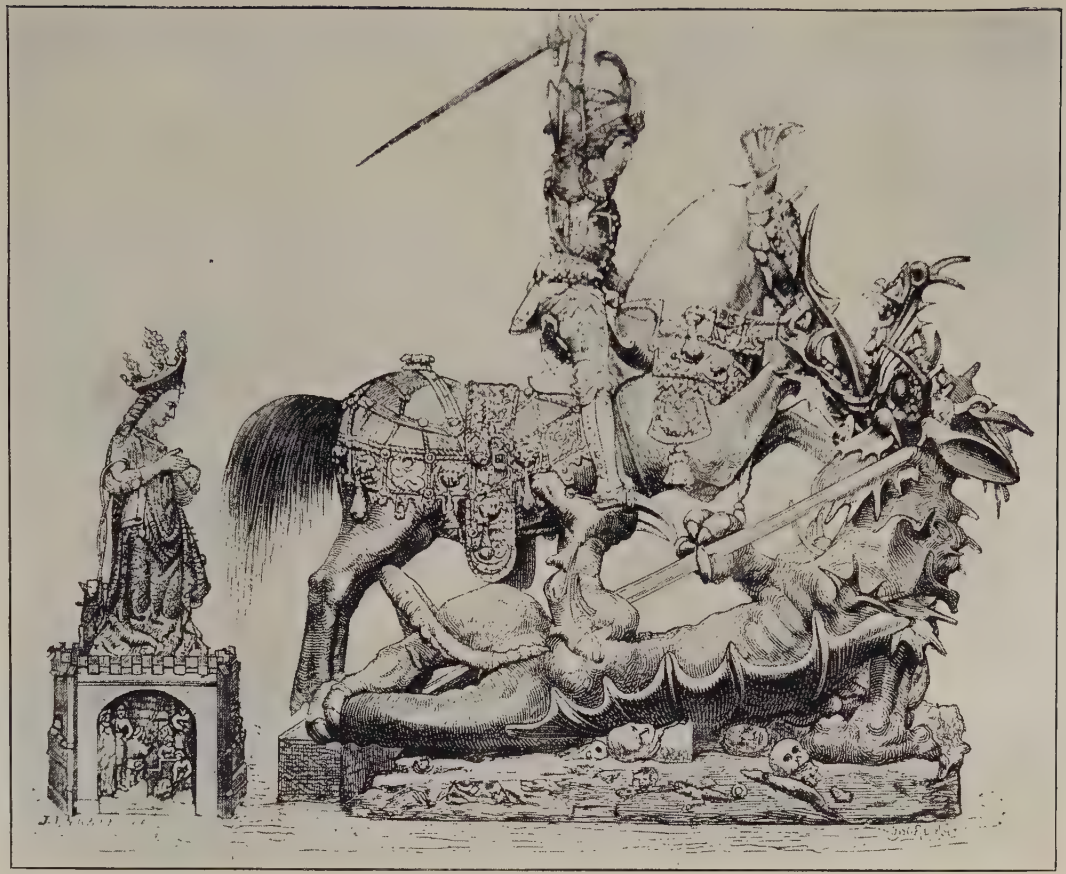
[1] Child's *British Ballads*, note to 'Ballads on St. George.'
[2] Swedish History, notes and illustration from Mrs. Rasmus B. Anderson.
[3] Prior, translation of Danish Ballads, from Gruntvig.



ST. GEORGE IN COMBAT.

Statue carved in wood, Museum, Stockholm, votive offering, 1473.†

The lots were cast, and doomed to death,
The Princess, too, must go;
And much the King her fate bewailed,
And wrung his hands for woe.

'Rise, then, my daughter, dress thyself,
All in thy best array;
I thought to see thee a Prince's bride,
And not a Dragon's prey.'

Up rose the maiden, dressed herself
In richest robes of state,
Took in her arms a little lamb
And left the castle gate.

As tearful out of town she went,
And much and deeply sighed,
No child was there in all the place
But for the maiden cried.

She stood before the mountain cave,
And peered around so wide;
And there the knight St. George she saw
In gallop toward her ride.

His horse was white, his banner red,
By that the knight was known;
'Speak noble maiden, speak, and say
Why here you stand alone.

'And tell me, noble maiden, why
You drop the frequent tear;
If robbed you 've been, or foully used,
Your grief I fain would hear.'

'I weep that to a loathly worm
My parents me must give;
Ride, gallant youth, ride hence away,
If longer you would live.'

'Fly will not I, nor leave your side
In this your hour of grief;
I 've to the holy Virgin vowed
To haste to your relief.'

While there they stood in sweet discourse,
That gentle saintly pair,
Out flew the Dragon against the knight
Forth from his mountain lair.

Into its gorge the lance he drove,
And splintered it in three,
But, swift as any bird could fly,
Unsheath his sword did he.

As swift as any bird could fly,
He drew and dealt his blows;
'I charge thee by the Holy Ghost
Thy fetid maw to close.

'Come now, fair maiden, loose your belt,
And bind his head withal,
And let your friends and townsmen see
The monster led in thrall.'

Into the city then they went,
That saintly pair so brave;
'Oh King, take on the Christian faith,
Your realm from peril save.'

'Thy faith we take, myself and realm
Of all and each degree;
My daughter, her to thee I give,
Thine equal she shall be.'

'Nay, though she be of equal rank
My troth I dare not plight,
I've to the Virgin made a vow
To live her loyal knight.'

This is the St. George who is fitly made the patron of monasteries and nunneries. In later stories he marries the lady whom he has rescued.

Another version of the dragon incident contemporary with this is that in a drama which was presented before the Emperor Frederick III. and his son Maximilian in Augsburg, 1473, and which was discovered in a library there and published in the nineteenth century.[1] It is called *Ein Hübsch Spiel von Sant Jörigen und des Königs von Lybia Tochter*, and has not the admirable condensation of the Swedish ballad, but is otherwise a worthy popular rendering of the incident.

In England a thirteenth-century book of devotions, *Secundum Usam Sarum*,[2] framed the history of the combat with the dragon into an anthem before a popular translation of *The Golden Legend* had been made:

[1] Greiff, *Ein Hübsch Spiel von Sant Jörigen und des Königs von Lybia Tochter.*

[2] Gordon, *St. George*, p. 45.

HYMME

Renowned Martyr, George to thee
Adorn'd with Knightly Dignite,
Glory and feast do appertain,
For having that fierce Dragon slain:
Whose entrails were design'd the Grave
O' th' Royal Virgin thou didst save.
We thee beseech, with heart and soul,
That by thy means, we in the Role,
Of Heaven's blest Saints may listed be
With all who serve God faithfully,
Being cleansed, so as that no stain,
Of sordid sin in us remain;
As also that we may profess
And that our lips give thankful praise
To Christ beyond the end of dayes.

In the early part of the fifteenth century *The Golden Legend*[1] was paraphrased by Lydgate in a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, but in that form reached few people. It was more widely spread by Caxton in the translation which he made and printed in 1483. His second edition was illustrated with woodcuts which had been used in the translation issued in the Low Countries before that date.[2] This is, then, the English version of the legend from which all later depart:[3]

'Saynt George was a knyght and borne in capadose. On a tyme he came in to the prouynce of Lybye to a cyte

[1] Miss E. P. Hammond, copy of MS.
[2] *Golden Legend*, facsimile by Holbein Society, Eng., 1878.
[3] William Morris, Kelmscott edition of *Golden Legend*.

whyche is sayd Sylene. And by this cyte was a stagne or ponde lyke a see, wherein was a dragon whych enuenymed alle the contre. And on a tyme the peple were assemblid for to slee hym & whan they sawe hym they fledde. And whan he came nyghe the cytee he venymed the peple wyth his breeth, and therfore the peple of the cytee gaue to hym euery day two sheep for to fede hym, by cause he shold doo no harme to the peple, and whan the sheep fayled there was taken a man and a sheep. ℔ Thenne was an ordenaunce made in the towne that there shold be taken the chyldren and yonge peple of them of the towne by lotte, and eueryche as it fyl, were he gentil or poure, shold be delyuerd whan the lotte fyl on hym or hyr. So it happed that many of them of the towne were thenne delyuerd, in so moche that the lotte fyl upon the kynges doughter, wherof the kyng was sory and sayd vnto the peple. ℔ For the loue of the goddes take golde and syluer and alle that I haue, & lete me haue my doughter. ℔ They sayd, how syr, ye haue made and ordeyned the lawe and our chyldren been now deed, and ye wold doo the contrarye. Your doughter shall be gyuen or elleys we shal brenne you and your hows. Whan the kyng saw he myght no more doo he began to wepe, and sayd to his doughter, now shall I neuer see thyn espousayls. Thenne retorned he to the peple and demaunded viii dayes respyte, and they graunted hit to hym. And whan the viii days were passed they came to hym and sayd, thou seest that the cyte perissheth. ℔ Thenne dyd the kyng do araye his doughter lyke as she shold be wedded, and

enbraced hyr, kyssed hir and gaue her his benedyccion, and after ledde hyr to the place where the dragon was. ☙ Whan she was there, saynt george passed by, & whan he sawe the lady he demaunded the lady what she made there, & she sayd, goo ye your way fayre yonge man that ye perysshe not also. ¶ Thenne sayd he, telle to me what haue ye, & why ye wepe, and doubte ye of no thynge. Whan she saw that he wold knowe she sayd to him how she was delyuerd to the dragon. Thenne sayd saynt george, Fayre doughter, doubte ye no thynge hereof, for I shall helpe the in the name of Jhesu Cryste. She said, for goddes sake good knyght goo your waye and abyde not wyth me, for ye may not delyuer me. Thus as they spake to gyder the dragon apperyd, and came rennying to them, and saynt George was vpon his hors, and drewe out his swerde & garnysshed him wyth the signe of the crosse, and rode hardely ageynst the dragon which came toward hym, and smote hym with his spere and hurte him sore, and threwe hym to the grounde. And after sayd to the mayde, delyuer to me your gyrdel & bynde hit about the necke of the dragon, and be not aferde. Whan she had doon soo the dragon followed hyr as it had been a meke beest and debonayr. Thenne she ledde hym into the cyte, & the peple fledde by mountayns and valeyes, and sayd, alas, alas, we shal be alle deed. ☙ Thenne saynt George sayd to them, ne doubte ye no thynge, wythout more, byleue ye in god Jhesu cryste, doo you to be baptysed and I shall slee the dragon. ☙ Thenne the kyng was baptysed, & al his peple, and saynt george slewe the dragon

ST. GEORGE IN COMBAT.

A woodcut from Caxton's "Golden Legend," 1493; and from Dutch edition, Delft, 1489.

and smote of his heed, and commaunded that he shold be throwen in the feldes, and they took iiii cartes wyth oxen that drewe hym out of the cyte.

'Thenne were there wel fyftene thousand men baptised without wymmen and chyldren, and the kyng did doo make a chirche there of our lady and of saynt George, in the whiche yet soundeth a founteyn of lyuying water whiche heleth seek peple that drynke thereof. ☙ After this the kyng offred to Saynt george as moche money as there myght be nombred, but he refused alle and commaunded that it shold be gyuen to poure for goddes sake, and enioyned the kynge iiii thynges, that is, that he shold haue charge of the chyrches, & that he shold honoure the preestes, and here theyr seruyce dylygently, and that he shold haue pyte on the poure peple, and after kyssed the kyng and departed.'

Later writers took great liberties with St. George's legend and combat, sometimes reverently, as Spenser in his *Faerie Queene*, sometimes as pure romancers in chivalry, as Johnson in his *Seven Champions of Christendom*, sometimes irreverently, as in the Christmas mummings and sword dances, where doggerel and nonsense contribute to a rude kind of fun centring about the heroic old figure of the soldier saint.

In medieval times ridings and processions of St. George were very common, as that represented in a painting in Brussels, where St. George in armour rides a charger and the princess leads the dragon with her girdle; but these were gradually stopped after the time of the

Reformation, though in sheltered nooks of Europe they still occurred in the nineteenth century. At a bicycle parade in Chester, England, St. George has ridden in armour on his white horse in the twentieth century, and his dragon made sport for the populace, who after the procession stuck it in the style of the good old times, and kept up the sport till morning.

On the continent plays of St. Joris and the dragon are still presented in several places in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, and in the nineteenth century there were a considerable number of places that still gave them. Until a few years past a dragon regularly made his appearance at Heel,[1] in the Netherlands, at the *kermis*, or local fair. Here the members of the Guild of Archers marched in procession, and on the market-place one of their number on horseback fought the combat. The dragon was made of wicker framework covered with leather and skin, and had a terrible head and a long tail. It was operated by a man entirely concealed within. When it was 'stuck' it breathed out fire. When the combat was over the procession moved on to the houses of prominent citizens, and money was collected at the end of the performance. It is not likely that this will be given again at Heel, but at Beesel,[2] near Heel, the combat with the dragon is still presented every year at the *kermis* by the Guild of St. Joris. In 1855 the dragon was adopted as the seal of the town, taking the place of the image of the earlier patron,

[1] Burgomaster, Heel.

[2] H. J. A. Flament, Rijksarchivaris, Limburg.

St. Gertrude. This play was presented in the eighteenth century and comes from an earlier time, but how early is uncertain. A play with a dragon is still given yearly in the streets of Mons, in Belgium.[1]

The most perfect modern play of the princess exposed by her father for his people and rescued from the dragon by a knight is acted in Germany at Furth im Wald, near the Bohemian border, where it is a municipal presentation. It is called the *Drachenstich*, and has been given for centuries with few changes, and with few interruptions.[2]

The performance at Furth used to occur on the Sunday after Corpus Christi, but for practical reasons it has been changed in late years to August at the time for opening the annual fair. The procession follows a prescribed line of march, and stops at the public square of the city to act the drama. The performance of 1896 included a herald, a band of musicians and a group of knights in armour attended by squires, all of these merely introductory to the Ritter who was to kill the dragon. The splendid Ritter formed the centre of the procession, mounted on a charger and attended by four halberdiers. After him came the princess, or Burgfraülein, who stood bound to a rock on a float, which formed a stage for action when halted in the square. The procession of 1897 was much more imposing than former ones—richer, larger, and historically correct. Floats were furnished by various

[1] De Reiffenberg, Introduction to *Gilles de Chin;* also, Baedeker, *Guide Book.*

[2] Local official pamphlets.

societies of the city and scenic effects were attempted with the help of the Theatre Association. The first division was led by a band of musicians and by three mounted fanfare blowers. The first group consisted of a knight with a dragon-banner followed by a float, the Burgfraülein on the Dragon-stone. Near her were men of her father's afflicted kingdom, an attendant, a page, and, finally, a horse led by a noble youth, his squire and servant. These last were to take part in a dumbshow, carrying the news of the Princess's deliverance to her parents in the castle on the next float. The second group was headed by a knight with the arms of the city, and bore on its float the castle in which the lord and his lady and child were weeping, attended by appropriate family servants, a footman at the door, court fool, horsemen and others. These did no speaking, but could add to the play by acting their joy when the noble youth brought them the good news of the deliverance. The third group presented Crusaders surrounding a camp of Turks. Some of the knights were mounted, and had in conduct a captured pasha and his guard, while on the float a Christian knight was planting the banner of the Crusaders on the wall of some vanquished Turks. Last of this group, preceded by a herald bearing the banner of the Cross and followed by four halberdiers, came the Ritter that was to kill the dragon. The second part of the procession presented scenes in the history of the city.

Arrived at the square, the group of men from the afflicted country, who constitute a kind of Greek chorus,

sing a song referring to the ravages of the dragon and praying for the relief of the noble Burgfraülein whose life is to be offered. The Ritter then rides up to the Burgfraülein on the Dragon-stone and asks her in verse what is the cause of her sorrowful aspect. She replies, not answering his question as to why she is there, but urging him to flee while there is yet time. He again asks her to tell her sorrow, and she replies that she is to be devoured by the dragon. He assures her that he will protect her, scorns to flee, tells her to trust in him and pray to God, asserts that he does not fear the dragon, and, when she points out the approaching monster, rides forth to attack it. The dragon meanwhile has entered at the farther end of the square and is causing a disturbance. It is made of wood covered with painted leather scales and is operated by two men concealed within. It is very effective, and makes comedy by snatching at the people and forcing its way among them till the Ritter arrives, when it is put to its defence and finally killed by a lance-thrust in the throat This is all quite realistic, and if the thrust is fortunate blood pours forth from the mouth, for a bladder filled with blood has been concealed there for the Ritter to cut.[1] If he bungles and does not cut it a laugh is raised at his expense. After the death of the dragon the Ritter returns to the Burgfraülein, accepts her thanks, and receives from her the Ehrenkranz, a garland of flowers which with her own hands she binds upon his arm. She then turns and speaks her epilogue to the public, and the procession moves on

[1] Bushby, *Eclectic Magazine.*

commonly to the inn, where the Rittertanz is held, initiating a three days' festival.

The beginnings of the play at Furth cannot be traced, for the archives of the city were destroyed in the Thirty Years' War; but oral tradition assigns its first presentation to the latter half of the fifteenth century, which would make it contemporary with the *Hübsch Spiel von Sant Jörigen und des Königs von Lybia Tochter*,[1] given in Augsburg, in 1473, on the occasion of the visit of Emperor Frederick III., when the League of St. George had just been revived in the expectation of another Turkish advance. The people of Furth have always believed that the dragon was killed at Furth, and this is one of the reasons doubtless why they persisted in presenting the play.[2] From time to time bishops and magistrates tried to suppress it, but it continued to thrive, though shorn of religious significance and the connexion with St. George which it must have originally possessed. At present the play is a moral play, believed at Furth to be founded on a local legend, and is given as a means of attracting strangers to the city, with business intent, and for the pleasure of the people. St. George is forgotten, but his romance is alive, and likely to be cherished in the years to come.

At Scheulen, in Belgian Limburg, where St. Joris[3] is the patron of the church and parish, a play of St. George[4] is

[1] Greiff, *Ein Hübsch Spiel, &c.*

[2] Pamphlet, Furth.

[3] H. J. A. Flament, Rijksarchivaris.

[4] Play of St. Joris, Scheulen, published in *De Massgrund, Limburgsche Geschiedenis, Taal en Letterkunde*, 1879.

ST. TEDDY IN COMBAT WITH THE DOLLAR DRAGON.
A cartoon from "Lustige Blätter."

presented as a religious exercise every seven years. It is a somewhat shortened and modernised version of an old play discovered among the church records, and was revived by the present pastor after it had been discontinued by his two predecessors. It is still charming in its simplicity, though it lost somewhat in the modernisation to which it was subjected. It is a moral allegory, and has some unique features. In it the Princess rescued from the dragon is called the *Brijd*, or *Bried*, in the dialect of the country a term which is used not necessarily for a maiden ready to celebrate her wedding, but for a maiden clad to take part in a Church celebration, as, for instance, perhaps the first communion. The word is appropriately used here in this signification, for the Brijd typifies the individual soul, or humanity, or the Church, endangered by the dragon of Sin (here the particular sin of unbelief or paganism) and saved by Christianity (typified in St. Joris). As the Brijd wanders at the shore of the sea she is expecting the dragon, which is coming up through the brine. She flees and calls for help. Some young Israelites, called in the poem Fencers (for they are skilled in arms, but not true warriors), want to come to her assistance, but are dissuaded by their teacher, Moses, who advises them not to do so until they have purified themselves by the rites of Judaism and so fulfilled their Law. Their generous instincts continue to urge them to her defence, but Moses continues to argue them down, so they all stand disputing about the matter and do nothing effective, until St. Joris enters, a Christian knight in armour. The Brijd warns him

of his danger, but he replies that she speaks strange things, for he sees no one near who could kill him. She answers that she awaits, on these barren wastes of the sea shore, a gruesome beast with eyes of fire. Convinced now of the danger, St. Joris advises her to put her trust in Christ and pray, for Christ died for her sins. The Brijd asks him his name, and learns that he is Georgius of Cappodocia, a Christian warrior. The dragon is heard approaching, making a frightful noise. His eyes flash fire, his tail threatens to sting. Transfixed with fear, the Brijd begs the help of St. Joris, and he proceeds to combat with an assurance that if she prays to God and His Mother she will be answered. When he pierces the dragon a universal shout of triumph greets him from the spectators. It will be noticed that in this play Christianity is the only religion that can save the soul, and is contrasted with heathenism and with Judaism, so developing the allegory in a new direction. Its spirit is the spirit of the *Faerie Queene*, and of the earliest ages of the Christian Church.

A play of St. George's combat with the dragon has been twice given in America by the college girls of Bryn Mawr in recent years, from an impulse that was partly literary and historical.

It is the moral power of its allegory that, from its completion in the Syrian myth of Perseus and Andromeda to the present, has kept the dragon slayer, his vanquished monster and his rescued princess alive, and must continue to do so. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the vital uses of the legend have often been for political ends,

A modern St. George [Anderson] against the dragon Quaksalvere.

A cartoon from "Amerika," Madison, Wisconsin, 1906.

as that of the carved group over the entrance to the Reichstag in Berlin, where St. George is a portrait of Bismarck and was interpreted to mean the purpose of the Kaiser to put down popular, especially liberal and revolutionary, movements by means of his Iron Chancellor. An American cartoon published in Madison illustrates this power of political allegory. It was made at the time when Rasmus B. Anderson was conducting the campaign against quack medicines, in his paper *Amerika*, and it was an instrument in securing the passage of a law by the Wisconsin legislature prohibiting certain noxious mixtures and requiring the publication of the formula upon every bottle of proprietary medicine sold in the state. Another cartoon with political point was that published in *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin, representing St. Teddy fighting the Trust dragon, whose scales are dollars and whose writhing folds fall into the dollar sign. Still another represents Bryan tilting towards the trusts.

From the time of Emperor Constantine to the Crusades St. George symbolised the struggle with paganism; at the time of the Reformation in the Roman Church he symbolised the struggle with heresy; and in the future his combat will doubtless be used to symbolise any struggle which is on between good and evil, the young Sons of Light and the old Dragon of Darkness that rises out of Chaos.

CHAPTER III

SPREAD OF THE VENERATION OF ST. GEORGE BEFORE THE FIRST CRUSADE

CONSTANTINE, the first Christian Emperor, was a great influence for the spread of the veneration of St. George, from the fact that he built churches in his honour in Diospolis and Constantinople and was associated in legends with him. When Constantine began his struggle[1] for the purple he was not Christian, but had grown sceptical as to the power and the willingness of the pagan gods to give aid to their votaries, for he reasoned that his predecessors had believed in a multiplicity of gods, and that most of them had nevertheless perished miserably. When he received information from Rome that his rival, Maxentius, was employing wizardry against him, he became anxious to secure against his rival the help of the most potent deity. Eusebius says: 'He thought in his own mind what sort of god he ought to secure as an ally.' He had spent his youth in Asia Minor, where he must have heard much of Christian devotion under persecution, and where the veneration of the Great Martyr, George, had been established at Diospolis. Eusebius is authority that Constantine saw the Labarum

[1] Firth, p. 93.

and conquered in the sign of its Cross, and is also authority that legions of angels came to his assistance in battle. The *Encomium* by Theodosius, Bishop of Jerusalem, which was believed to have been delivered in the time of Constantine, was a powerful agent in connecting the Saint and the Emperor in legend. It tells that St. Michael and St. George came down from heaven and overturned Diocletian's throne while he sat upon it, to punish him for his persecution of the Christians, and that when Diocletian prayed for forgiveness,[1] 'The voice of the holy Archangel Michael came to him straightway, saying, "There shall be forgiveness to thee neither in this world nor in the world to come; and now thy dominion has passed away and is given to Constantine, who is more excellent than thee three thousand times." And all the multitude of the soldiers and all the senators who were assembled heard the voice—and they straightway arose and cast him [Diocletian] from the royal office, and they brought in Constantine in his stead, and robed him in royal apparel. And he was a lover of God, a lover of charity, a lover of man, a lover of goodness, and of every person. He went to church morning and evening every day.' Whether or not these things were true, pilgrims to the Holy Land thought that they were, and carried back with them to disseminate in Europe impressions of Constantine's churches of St. George at Diospolis and Constantinople[2] and of the man, who was called to his throne by St. George, who waged his wars under the

[1] Budge, p. 273. [2] *Acta Sanctorum*, April 23, iii. col. i.

Cross as standard, by the counsel of dreams from heaven, and by assistance of legions of angels and martyrs visible to the whole army.[1]

The First Crusade paralleled all of Constantine's miracles, even the finding of the Cross by his mother, Helena, having an analogue in the Crusader's finding of the spearpoint that pierced the side of the Saviour.[2] Constantine's contemporary historians do not tell who led the angel hosts in his wars, but the angelic armies that fought with the Crusaders were always led by St. George in person, riding his white horse.

Constantine's churches of St. George were in existence for centuries. That at Diospolis (Lydda) was rebuilt into a greater structure by Justinian, and, at the time of the Third Crusade, by Richard I. Of this last church a few remains still stood in 1875,[3] but have since been displaced by a modern Greek church. In Constantinople there are still, after more than five centuries of Turkish rule, a few remains of monuments to the saint of the many which were there in the time of the Eastern Empire. One of these is a bronze door[4] of the ninth century, representing the combat with the dragon. This is in an old Greek church, now Armenian, in Balatquartier Palaos Taxiarchis; another monument is in the Greek Patriarch's Church of St. George, a *sella*[5] of 1085, richly inlaid with ivory, and having two beautiful ivory

[1] Gibbon, quoting Eusebius; also Firth.
[2] Matzke, xviii. pp. 152–154, quoting sources.
[3] Gordon, reproduction of photograph. [4] Barth, p. 122. [5] Ibid.

double-headed eagles, the symbol of the Empire. In the Ashmolean Collection is a drawing of the combat of St. George and the Dragon from a window of St. Sophia, made by John Tradescant.[1] The very name of this famous church is probably connected with the legend of St. George, for in the Eastern versions of the story of the combat the princess rescued is often called *Sophia*, meaning Wisdom. These monuments and the date ascribed to them are of interest in the history of the allegory of St. George and the Dragon, which was not told in Western Europe until 1280–1298 in *The Golden Legend*, but had spread through the East before that date, had been adopted as the arms of Moscow in the ninth century, and had been carved in the church of St. George in Prague in the early part of the tenth.

One of St. George's[2] very early churches in the East was that at Edhra, in Syria, where in 510 a heathen temple was made over into a church and given reliques of the saint. In Alexandria, Egypt, there was a church in the sixteenth century, called *St. George's by the Sea*, which claimed to mark the place where the saint's ashes were cast into the water, and to date back to the earliest times.

In Rome,[3] the church of San Giorgio in Velabro is thought by some to date back to Constantine's time, and to be the old church of St. George referred to in a letter of Pope Gregory, 601, as in a state of decay and in need

[1] Gordon; also, see illustration, p. 22.
[2] Gordon, reproduction of photographs.
[3] F. F. di San Pietro Agostiniano Scalzo.

of repairs. It has been the richest church in relics of its patron, cherishing his head, an iron spearpoint, a fragment of his red-crossed banner, bones of his foot, and drops of his blood sealed in crystal vases. Within the last three years most of these have been removed, and the banner is no longer claimed as a genuine relique, but is said to date from the thirteenth century.

Before the First Crusade St. George was widely known. The tide of pilgrims from the west and north of Europe poured through Constantinople, merchants from those regions had large dealings with her, armies and navies fought sometimes against and sometimes in company with her, and incidentally by this contact the veneration of St. George was spread. The Slavonic races, when they accepted Christianity, adopted the form of it taught them at Constantinople, and chose St. George as their special patron; the Byzantine symbol of the double black eagle holding a shield on which is the combat of St. George and the dragon, became first the arms of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and later of all Russia. Before the First Crusade this had been accomplished. The arms of the Russian princess Anne, who was a daughter of the King of Russia and Muscovia, and who married the French King, Henry I., in 1051, were St. George killing the dragon.[1]

From the East the veneration of St. George reached the West early. Pope Gelasius' warning was issued in 494. In the following centuries a large number of

[1] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter.*

churches and monasteries were established in St. George's honour, from which in turn, as centres, his influence must have spread farther and been perpetuated. In Naples there was a church of St. George at a very early date. Early in the sixth century Clotilda,[1] the Christian wife of Clovis, King of the Franks, dedicated a nunnery to him near Paris, and soon after Clovis dedicated a monastery to him near Cambrai. In the middle of the sixth century Childebert, the son of Clovis, placed a relic of St. George in a monastery which he erected near Paris to St. Vincent, one of St. George's converts, and another relic of St. George was given the church of this monastery by St. Germain, then Bishop of Paris, he having received it from the Emperor Justinian, when returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This church has since the Bishop's death been known as St. Germain, and long had the relics. In the sixth century a church of St. George existed at Mayence, and in the same century St. Gregory of Tours built a church in his honour in the diocese of Dax. In 660 Childeric II. founded a monastery of St. George in a valley of Alsace, later known as St. George's Valley, and in the same century Clotaire II. built a church of St. George in Picardie. Charlemagne presented a relic of an arm of St. George to the church of St. Dionysius, near Paris. In 689[2] the King of Lombardy invoked St. George in battle, gained a victory, and in 691 built a monastery in honour of his patron between Cremona and Piacenza. The cathedral at Ferrara had from very early times reliques of

[1] Matzke, xviii. p. 147; Fleming, p. 68. [2] Vetter, *Einleitung*, xlvi.

the saint. In Germany a noted church was built at Mainz, about 556; in 813 Ludwig the Pious founded the monastery of St. George at Nehartikirchung; in 837 Fulda and Cambray received relics of St. George; in 996 a Bavarian monastery was founded in his honour; in 1002 a monastery of St. George was removed from the Hohentwiel to Stein a. Rh. in Switzerland, then still a part of the Empire. A relic of St. George was treasured[1] in the cathedral at Utrecht. In Rome, in 751, Pope Zacharias discovered the head of St. George and gave it to San Giorgio in Velabro, where it is still kept, encased in silver, and inscribed; at Reichenau, in S. Georg zu Oberzell, a head of the great martyr is still shown which was given by Pope Formosus to the Abbot Hatto. Many reliques were brought into Western Europe from Constantinople in 1240, when that city was sacked.

St. George was known in England in the seventh century, probably through the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory. In 679 Bishop Adamnan related a miracle[2] of St. George which he had heard from Arculf, a traveller, about a man who had made a vow to give his horse to St. George if the saint would protect him and give him safe return. The vow was made at Diospolis before the marble column bearing St. George's image, and when the man after a safe return tried to keep his horse, commuting the offering for the payment of a sum of money, the saint showed his deep displeasure by causing the animal to

[1] Vetter, *Einleitung*, xlvi.

[2] Matzke, xvii. p. 149, quoting *Acta Sanctorum*, April 23, iii. p. 144.

become restive, forcing the man to redeem his vow literally by leaving the horse. St. George had a place in an Anglo-Saxon ritual of Durham assigned to the ninth century, a mention in Baeda's *Lives of the Saints*,[1] and a full poetical account in Archbishop Aelfric's *Passion of St. George*,[2] written at York, between 1020 and 1051. In the reign of Canute, a monastery was founded to him at Thatford; a church sacred to his memory existed at Southwark in Anglo-Saxon times. In 1074 Robert D'Oyley, a Norman noble who had been granted large estates in Oxfordshire,[3] by William the Conqueror, built near his castle a parish church dedicated to St. George.[4]

The influence of Constantinople upon the West of Europe by pilgrimages, trade, and war, extended through many centuries. In the earlier ages of the Christian era, the number of pilgrims who visited the Holy Land was very great, so that the Church tried to curb the zeal of the people by reminding them that a pilgrimage was not necessary for salvation and should not be undertaken unless the circumstances warranted it. In the tenth and eleventh centuries alarming hosts of pilgrims made the overland route to Jerusalem.[5] In 1054 the Bishop of Cambrai[6] set out with three thousand pilgrims from Picardie, a district which had a monastery of St. George

[1] Baeda, *Lives of Saints*, quoted and translated by Fleming, p. 32.
[2] Percy Society Publications, lxxxviii.
[3] Note, North view of Oxford Castle, Museum, Oxford.
[4] Michaud. [5] Fleming, p. 101, quoting *The Polychronicon*, 1350.
[6] Michaud.

and was soon to send out, as pilgrim, Peter the Hermit. Ten years later the Bishops of Mayence, Spires, Utrecht, and Cologne set out with seven thousand pilgrims from France, Germany, and the Netherlands. It will be observed that many of these came from regions where St. George was held in special veneration, and that the tales of wonders seen would increase that veneration when the pilgrims returned, for their way led them through localities haunted with St. George's legend, and ministrations of sense deepened the impressions they gathered from the tales they heard, for they saw St. George's reliques, and worshipped in his churches at stations on the way. In Constantinople they were shown the reliques brought there by Constantine; they visited the church of St. George said to have been built by Constantine, and another built by the Patriarch Sergius in the seventh century;[1] perhaps they were entertained before they crossed to Asia Minor at the *Monastery of St. George* on the *Arm of St. George*, as the Hellespont had come to be named. In Asia Minor the route lay across part of Cappadocia and Nicomedia, where the persecutions of the Christians under Diocletian had their centre. Conflicting traditions gave almost every town they approached its claim to be the scene of some stage of the saint's earthly pilgrimage. Mytilene was said to be the place of martyrdom in the greater number of Latin and French manuscripts in the twelfth century; Tyre held the tradition which located the martyrdom there according to two ancient Coptic manuscripts of the

[1] Matzke, xviii. pp. 150–160.

fifth century;[1] and before Jerusalem, Lydda and Ramula-Diospolis were reached, where, according to other traditions, the saint passed his youth and where his friends carried his body after his martyrdom. The pillar on which the statue stood before which the vow was made in Arculf's story previously mentioned, 679, was said to have been the one to which St. George was bound when he was tortured. This region[2] was especially to be remembered by the seven thousand pilgrims, for they were attacked before they reached Jerusalem, and over three thousand of their number were slain. The need of Peter the Hermit was arising, and an appeal to the saint of the soldier.

In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries obscure events of importance were occurring in European, Asiatic and African countries adjoining the Mediterranean, and intense rivalry, commercial, political, and religious, was setting the Cross against the Crescent, disintegrating the decaying Eastern Empire, establishing and expanding vigorous young nations, and incidentally leading to their appeal to St. George as patron.

This occurred first among the powers that came into contact with the East directly. In 953 the Emperor at Constantinople won a victory on St. George's Day, and paid his honours to the saint, a circumstance which perhaps stimulated the Venetians presently to seek St. George's favour and thereby also weaken the power of their adversary.[3] In 971 the Greek Emperor sent an embassy

[1] Baring-Gould, also Gibson, in Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* 1870, Jan.–June.

[2] Michaud.

[3] Okey, *History of Venice.*

to Venice, to announce his intention to burn cargo and crew of any Venetian ship found supplying the Saracens with munitions of war. There may be no connexion between the events, but though at that time Venice had the small church of San Giorgio dei Schiavoni, in 975 [1] she began a monastery in St. George's honour, and in 982 laid the foundation of his great church of San Giorgio Maggiore. Reliques of an arm and a leg of St. George were kept in St. Mark's, obtained in Constantinople. A few centuries later Venice honoured St. George by a series of pictures by Carpaccio and a statue on the front of the Ducal Palace overlooking the lagoons, and other works of art.

In the eleventh century the Sicilian-Norman soldiers of Robert Guiscard were spreading their conquests under St. George's patronage, planting the Red Cross as their banner on Sicilian and Italian territory conquered from the Saracens, and attacking the Eastern Empire and Venice, now allied powers. Perhaps the Norman-Sicilians had learned from Constantinople or Venice to value St. George's patronage. Doubtless all three contestants entered battle with prayers to St. George. In the Sicilian Battle of Cerami,[2] in which 400 Normans defeated 50,000 Saracens, it is said that St. George fought visibly on horseback before the Christian band of Ruggero, and before the conquest of the island, which was completed in 1087, his veneration must have been well established. No less than

[1] Guide Book.

[2] Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe.*

eight churches and chapels dedicated to St. George, in Sicily, claim to date back to Ruggero or his son.[1] It will be observed that this conquest of Saracen Sicily and this appearance of the saint in person precedes the First Crusade when St. George appeared in person at Antioch and Jerusalem, where also Normans and Sicilian-Normans were most active leaders. The veneration of St. George had been established in Sicily long before the Normans invaded it,[2] for Palermo has a church of St. George which contests priority with *San Giorgio in Velabro* in Rome, and which may be the church referred to by Pope Gregory in 601. At the same time the conquest of Apulia, on the mainland, was going on, which was in the next administration to be raised with Sicily to a kingdom. Its main ports were Brindisi and Bari,[3] from which many of the Crusaders took ship for the Holy Land. The Harbour of Brindisi was called the *Harbour of St. George.* At Bari Peter the Hermit first preached the need of a Crusade, in 1095, and there Bohemond and Tancred heard him, who became effective leaders of the First Crusade, doubly efficient because of their experience of Eastern methods of warfare in their conquest of the Sicilian Saracens, under St. George's patronage.

And soon another of the great Mediterranean powers[4] adopted St. George as special patron, for in 1090 the

[1] List of Sicilian Churches and Chapels of St. George, Ufficio Bibliografico, Rome.

[2] F. F. di San Pietro Agostiniano Scalzo.

[3] Ross, *The Land of Manfred.*

[4] Sac. Gio. Batta Toso, Prevosto di San Giorgio di Moneglia.

Republic of Genoa, then the commercial rival of Venice for the trade with the East, made an alliance with Barcelona, and with special petitions to St. George attacked the Saracens of Majorica. The success of the expedition was followed at once by the adoption of St. George as permanent patron of the republic. Genoa prospered so notably in the succeeding years that in 1154 Pope Alexander III. publicly congratulated her on her patron. The cry of the Genoese in battle became 'Live, St. George!' and immediately after the First Crusade the figure of the saint was placed upon the Genoese banner, which thenceforth at the beginning of war was consigned to her admiral with solemn public ceremonies to be hoisted at the mast of the flagship. The Archbishop of Genoa added a prayer to St. George to the litany, and all public proceedings, edifices and the like regarded the patron. Even private citizens vied with each other in honouring their saint, depicting him on the fronts of their palaces and houses. The great public roads and gates of Genoa had representations of him, the principal square and street were named for him, and the arsenals had his image. When the famous bank of Genoa was organised, it bore his name, and has used his stamp on its issues. Genoa treasured various relics of St. George and named several churches in his honour. She also contributed money to carry on the work of founding churches to her patron in other places, and has continued to celebrate him as her special patron to the present time. St. George also became the special or national patron of Barcelona,

Aragon, Portugal, Burgundy, and Aquitaine at an early period.

Some historians have said that the Normans of Normandy also sought the protection of the patron of their Sicilian relatives, and that in 1066 William of Normandy, called the Conqueror, received the standard of the Red Cross of St. George[1] from the hands of the Pope as a warrant to undertake the conquest of England, flew it from his masthead as he approached the island, and fought under it the Battle of Hastings, making it by his victory the national flag of England, as it has been ever since. William the Conqueror used the Greek Cross on his coinage, the *Norman Chronicle*[2] and the *Romance of the Rose* tell that the Pope sent him a banner at the time when he gave his consent to the invasion of England, and the Bayeux tapestry[3] shows a banner with a red cross of equal arms received by William from Bishop Odo and carried by a standard-bearer when a camp was entrenched at Hastings. The field of these banners is a pale-bluish colour and the cross is red. Other banners have different designs, except that in the place where William receives word of Harold, where the cross is outlined, but is not red. Did the countess forget to thread her needle? or is the red in the other banners merely decorative?

The fact that William the Conqueror had the red cross on his banner would not, however, establish a connexion

[1] Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition and History*, quoting Thierry's *Norman Conquest*.

[2] Matzke, quoting originals.

[3] Facsimile of Bayeux tapestry in Chapter House, Westminster Abbey.

between that cross and St. George at that date, for in many parts of Christendom such a connexion is not even now made, and at that date it was probably not made anywhere. In the East the red cross was used as the symbol of Christian against pagan, and is not now called St. George's Cross; in the address of Pope Urban[1] when he urged upon the Crusaders the adoption of the cross he made no reference to St. George; and William did not mention St. George at the Battle of Hastings, according to the accounts, or make after it a votive offering to him. His battle cry was 'God be our help!' and 'Our Lady,' and the Abbey, later called Battle Abbey, that he reared on the field of the battle as an offering, he dedicated to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul.[2]

It is not probable that in 1066 the red cross was regarded as specifically St. George's. When St. George was seen in visions during the Crusades the accounts mention his wearing a red cross. This he would wear as the Crusaders did and with the same signification; but the tendency would be to ascribe it to him eventually as a personal emblem, though no early account of his life mentions his wearing a red cross or having a banner. In 1225 the German romantic poem of *Der Heilige Georg* by Reinbot von Durne told that an angel from heaven brought St. George armour for a combat and also a white banner with a red cross; and shortly after this time such a banner

[1] Michaud, *Hist. of Crusades.*
[2] Thierry, *Norman Conquest*, quoting sources.

was cherished as a relic of St. George in the Wartburg,[1] and later was transferred to San Giorgio in Velabro in Rome. After the publication of Reinbot's poem and the display of this relic the red cross came to be called St. George's Cross in some places in Europe, but in others the banner with the red cross is called still simply the Crusaders' Banner, as in Holland and Germany.

But William the Conqueror venerated St. George, for a great abbey and monastery dedicated to St. George existed near Rouen in Normandy, and he himself caused one of his followers, Robert D'Oyley,[2] whom he had rewarded with Oxford, to dedicate to St. George the church which he built on his estate in 1074. Immediately after the Conqueror's death the First Crusade occurred—which was to result in still greater personal gratitude and veneration for St. George—and that Crusade was under the leadership of William the Conqueror's countrymen, his relatives by his marriage with Matilda of Flanders, and his oldest son, Robert. Peter the Hermit was from Picardie, where was the church of St. George, built by Clotaire, and where many of the 7000 pilgrims attacked in the Holy Land a few years before had their home; Godfrey of Bouillon was duke of that region, and sold his dukedom, expecting to establish a kingdom in the south, as had the Sicilian Normans, and hoping doubtless to win it, as had they, under the Red Cross and by the aid of St. George. The two experienced Sicilian leaders,

[1] Vetter, *Einleitung;* Reinbot von Durne's *Der Heilige Georg.*

[2] Print of North Gate, Oxford, in University Museum, Oxford, note.

Bohemond and Tancred, were Norman, and took the cross for this Crusade in response to the appeals which Peter the Hermit made first in their cities; and along with the Norman duke Robert, his cousin, the Count of Flanders,[1] supported Godfrey. This Count of Flanders received from the English under him the appellation of *Fitz St. George*, son of St. George, evidence not only of his soldierly qualities, but of the knowledge and veneration of St. George in his army among the Norman-English.

From what has been said it is evident that the veneration of St. George was widely spread, and that his patronage had been widely sought before the time of the Crusades. After his appearing to fight with the Normans in Sicily it is hardly surprising that again and again he appeared to the Crusaders in their march to Jerusalem. It was understood that he was their standard-bearer, as is shown in the incident told by Raymond d'Aguilers,[2] to whom St. George appeared in a vision at Antioch, where some located the home of St. George's mother. Among other questions the Vision asked: 'Do you know who is the standard-bearer of this army?' At first Raymond replied: 'I do not know, Lord'; but on being urged further, he said: 'Lord, it is said of St. George that he is the standard-bearer of this army.' And the Vision replied: 'Thou hast said well. I am he. Receive therefore my relics.' The relics found were then carried along with the army.[3] At Antioch St. George appeared in

[1] Grattan's *Holland, Nations of the World*, p. 51.

[2] Matzke, quoting Papebroch and sources, xviii. p. 153. [3] Ibid. p. 152.

person and took part in the battle, encouraging the soldiers, as William of Malmesbury relates, by hurling darts among the enemy, but assisting the Franks. On this occasion he was accompanied by Demetrius, both patrons riding white horses. Also at Antioch[1] in 1098 an army of angels and martyrs in white armour fought for the Sicilian-Norman leader Bohemond. Pyrrhus, the Saracen leader opposed to Bohemond, asked him in a conference where the army of knights clad in white were encamped, which constantly met his attacks with an onslaught which his own soldiers could not withstand. Boamundus, enlightened by the spirit of God, replied that they came from heaven, were spirits of martyrs who died for their faith, and were led by the martyrs George, Demetrius and Mauritius. At the attack of Jerusalem St. George became a powerful helper to the Christian army of the First Crusade, appearing fully armed in his white armour and his red cross on the Mount of Olives.[2] The cry that St. George had come to help them so fired the besiegers that even women and children joined with the soldiers to move the rolling towers for attack nearer to the ramparts. In the centuries next following St. George appeared at various times to help the Christians in their wars—to Richard the Lion-hearted,[3] whom he encouraged to make an attack at Acre in the Third Crusade; to Frederick Barbarossa,[4] whose army he led in the Spanish Crusade

[1] Matzke, xviii. p. 152.
[2] Michaud; also Matzke, xviii. p. 153.
[3] Child, *British Ballads*, note to 'Ballads of St. George.'
[4] Ibid.

against the Moors, in 1190; and to Count William of Holland,[1] whom he assisted against the excommunicated Emperor Frederick in 1248.

After the fall of Antioch in the First Crusade, the Saracens fled from Lydda at the approach of the Christian army.[2] The Christians then offered up thanks to St. George, with a common voice decided to establish a bishopric at Lydda and Ramula, and selected for the bishop Robert, a Norman from Rouen, a fit recognition of the service rendered by the Normans. The title assigned the prelate was Bishop of St. George's. The Saracens had destroyed the church, now the Normans rebuilt it. At the time of the Third Crusade, in 1190, Richard the Lion-hearted remained for six weeks with his army at Lydda, and passed through it again the next year when returning from Jerusalem.

In the East the tradition seems to be still strong that St. George appears in the time of need.[3] At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war a story came from St. Petersburg that the moujiks were passing from village to village a report that St. George had been seen in the skies leading his hosts to the Far East against the infidel Japanese.

[1] Child, *British Ballads*, note to 'Ballads of St. George.'
[2] Matzke, xviii. p. 154.
[3] Firth, p. 105.

CHAPTER IV

ORDERS OF ST. GEORGE AND INSTITUTIONS AND INCIDENTS WHICH SHOW HIS INFLUENCE

THE first Order in which St. George is said to have been honoured is described by Ashmole (1672) and is called *The Order of Constantinian Angelic Knights of St. George.* Ashmole believed that this Order was confirmed by Leo I. in 456, though he considered 'little better than a fabulous story' the account of its foundation by Constantine the Great. The Order had its name from the Cross of The Labarum, which Eusebius says was shown in a vision to the Emperor by an angel in the heavens, with its motto *In hoc signo vinces.* It was this Labarum which Constantine adopted as his standard. It is said that Constantine, instead of rewarding his soldiers for valour with a gold collar, such as was customary, rewarded them with a gold collar composed of the Greek characters AXΩ, from which was suspended 'a cross like that which appeared to him, and thereunto the image of St. George.' The habit of this Angelic Order of Greece was white, like that of the angelic warriors who helped Constantine in his wars, and on the left shoulder was sewed a red or crimson velvet cross. This Order was under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and the patronage of St. George. The Grand

Masters are said to have had very great power and revenues, and to have been subject to no prince. Even if it should be proved that this Constantinian Angelic Order of St. George in Greece never existed, its legend would still be essential to an understanding of the influence of Constantine and his tradition upon the Crusades and the ideals and the formation of other military and monastic Orders of St. George. The Jesuit Father Papebroch, who wrote the *Acta Sanctorum*, considers this Greek Order purely fictitious, and judges that before the occupation of Constantinople there was no similar institution among the Greeks, but would not deny that at a later date the Greek Emperors may have had something like it.

After the First Crusade both gratitude and hope of further assistance led to increased devotion to St. George, and he became widely the patron of military orders. An Order which wore the Red Cross, though it did not bear St. George's name, was that of the Temple, recognised in 1119 and completely organised in 1128. The Knights of the Temple aimed to be as much like those white angelic warriors who fought for Constantine and Bohemond as possible, for they abjured human ties as far as men could, giving up home, and even country, the more completely to serve their cause. The Order was begun by two French knights, but was international and independent of kings, being accountable to the Pope only.[1] It admitted none but nobles, and subjected its members to the vows of St. Augustine and St. Benedict as well as to

[1] Facts about Orders, mainly from Ashmole and *Acta Sanctorum*.

those of knighthood. Members wore a white robe, and in 1146 the Pope ordered them to wear the red cross on left shoulder and shield as a sign of the martyrdom to which they stood exposed. That St. George is not mentioned here, though the red cross is worn, is consistent with the theory that the red cross was originally only the sign of the Christian soldier and later came to be regarded in the West as St. George's personal sign. Spain took no part in the First Crusade, but Barcelona, Portugal, Navarre and Aragon passed under the special patronage of St. George. In 1201 the King of Aragon instituted a Spanish *Equestrian Order of St. George* very much like the Order of the Temple, for the members were under the constitution of the Cistercians and the rule of the Benedictines as well as under the vows of knighthood. In 1317 this Order was united with the Order of Our Lady and of St. George, which had succeeded to the lands and possessions of the Knights of the Temple in Valencia, and which also had for a purpose to defend the country against unbelievers, the Moors. The habit of this Order was white and its badge was a plain red cross, the cross of St. George. The union of the two Orders was confirmed by the Council of Constance.

The first secular Austrian *Order of St. George* was instituted in 1245 for the defence of the Eastern Empire against the Turks, who were beginning to threaten invasion, and for the suppression of civil broils.[1] This Austrian Order also was under vows, and the members

[1] *Acta Sanctorum.*

wore on formal occasions a white robe with a red cross, the cross extending from shoulder to shoulder and from top to bottom of the robe. Later the Order was secular. The Master of it was given a house and revenues, and the members of it were permitted to add St. George's Cross to the arms of their house. The knights carried a flag of the red cross on the white ground, along with the standard of the empire. This Order was revived later in the *Suabian League of St. George* and the *Order of St. George's Shield.* The Suabian League of St. George,[1] banded Austrian nobles, attacked the Swiss patriots of Appanzell in 1405 for revolting against the feudal oppression of the Abbot of St. Gall. The Swiss of Berne,[2] in the thirteenth century, adopted a flag the reverse of the banner of St. George, which was carried by the League of St. George, and that design is now the national flag of the United Swiss Cantons, a white cross on a red field.[3] When Dunant started the Red Cross Movement in the nineteenth century, the society adopted in his honour the reverse of his national flag, which is, again, St. George's banner, the red cross on a white field. But there was no reference at the adoption to St. George and his banner. In 1468 Emperor Frederick III. revived this Austrian Order of St. George for the protection of his frontiers against the Turks. In Augsburg,[4] where was a great monastery of St. George, a play of St. George, called *Ein Hübsch Spiel von Sant Jörigen und des Königs von Lybia Tochter,*

[1] Colton, p. 62. [2] Mr. John Hitz, Red Cross Society.
[3] Lisle, *Story of Red Cross Movement.*
[4] Greiff, Introduction to *Ein Hübsch Spiel, &c.*

was presented five years later on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor, his son Maximilian, and a noble Turkish visitor, Kaiser Zerismus.

In Burgundy a knightly *Brotherhood of St. George* was instituted between 1390 and 1400 to defend the Catholic religion. Venetian Orders of the *Canons of St. George* were instituted at various times for special service in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Venice had an organisation called the *Canons of St. George* in 1381 under Laurentius Justinianus, and this was revived in 1396. This seems to have been a secular Order. Genoa, after her disastrous war with Venice in 1381, retrieved her financial fortunes by the institution of the *Bank of St. George* and her military fortunes by the Order of the *Chevaliers of St. George*, when, in 1452, the republic was in danger of destruction by foreign invaders and mercenaries. The members of this *Band* or *Regiment of St. George* wore a uniform and the Cross of the saint. *A Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. George* was instituted in Rome by the Pope in 1492 to defend the Church against its enemies, and the *Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. George* in Ravenna was instituted in 1534 to defend the Italian coast against Mussulman corsairs and pirates. Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* and the *Acta Sanctorum* give many facts about the purpose and history of these Orders of St. George.

The Orders mentioned were all for active service. Like them in this respect, in the Provinces now comprising the Netherlands and Belgium, were the Guilds of

St. Joris (the nationalisation of St. George's name here and its frequent use as a patronymic is an evidence of his popularity). From prehistoric times in the Lowlands organisations[1] of the archers had existed for protection of the communities from home rioters and foreign invaders,[2] and about the thirteenth century many of these came under the protection of St. Joris and bore his name, going under the title of Guilds of St. Joris. In these, as in the Orders previously mentioned, the veneration of St. George was often united with that of the Virgin, and in the ordinances of some of the Guilds was a clause binding the members to walk in armour in the procession in honour of Our Lady.[3] The oath administered to the members varied in different places, but included in general a promise to be true to the city and the brothers of the Guild by the help of God and the holy knight St. Joris.[4] In these provinces of strong democratic tendency St. Joris thus became the saint of the aspirations of the people, for the corporations fought against the local lords in case of encroachments upon chartered rights. The Battle of the Golden Spurs[5] may serve as an example and as the most successful of the series of conflicts that occurred here between the people and the lords at intervals from the eleventh century to the sixteenth. This battle was fought against the Count of Flanders and King Philip the Fair in 1302; and the guilds of Bruges, who fought the King and his Court,

[1] Jhr. Mr. J. B. A. J. M. Verheijen, p. 35.
[2] Jhr. A. van Sasse van Ysselt, Letter.
[3] Jhr. Mr. J. B. A. J. M. Verheijen, p. 54.
[4] Miss Kuyper's notes. [5] Gilliat Smith, pp. 154–160.

GIORGONE—ST. GEORGE IN ATTENDANCE ON THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, CASTELFRANCO, VENETO.

were assisted in their struggle by volunteers from other communes in Flanders. The guilds played their part well that day, and St. Joris was with them, for they lost but one hundred men, while the sum total of the King's losses was twenty thousand, among whom were seventy-five nobles, a thousand knights and three thousand squires. The golden spurs taken from the knights who fell were measured by the bushel, and gave the battle its name.

By the help of these Flemish cities[1] Edward III. of England, empire and institution builder, hoped a little later in this century to ascend the French throne. At Brussels in 1345 he made an alliance with the communes of Flanders and was solemnly recognised as the successor of St. Louis, and the following year he fought his battle at Crecy, which he won by the archers of his army. Was he encouraged to rely upon his archers and St. George by the record of the Battle of the Golden Spurs? The archers of these early battles helped to usher in the period of democracy, social and political as well as military, by thus overthrowing the chivalry, for, as Green says in his *History of the English People:*[2] 'The churl had struck down the noble; the bowman proved more than a match in sheer hard fighting, for the knight. From the day of Crecy feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave.' It was not only his method of warfare that Edward changed in this battle, but near Calais he superseded the appeal to Edward the Confessor, who had been the earlier patron of

[1] Gilliat-Smith, *Story of Bruges*, pp. 190–194; Froissart, *Chronicles.*
[2] Green, *Hist. of Eng. People.*

the English, by that to St. George, and from that day St. George was without question the patron of English soldiers in war. As Thomas of Walsingham tells the story, Edward, when he joined battle near Calais, drew his sword with the exclamation, 'Ha! St. Edward! Ha! St. George!' and routed the French. The ancestors of Edward III.[1] the Dukes of Aquitaine, had entered battle with the cry, 'St. George for the puissant duke!' holding St. George as special patron of Aquitaine,[2] and his son, the Black Prince, won the Battle of Poitiers by a rear attack upon the French army under the banner of St. George, his captain leading with the cry, 'St. George for Guienne!' Richard I., also devoted to St. George, was of the same house, and is generally credited with being the king who introduced the veneration of St. George into England.

The cry of the English soldiers was later 'St. George for merrie England!' but in Shakespeare's *Henry V.* it is 'God for Harry! England, and St. George!' Mention of St. George and the Order of the Garter are frequent in Shakespeare. Talbot's slogan on the battlefield is, 'God and St. George!' Edward, Prince of Wales, exhorts his parents:

> Unsheath your sword, good father, cry St. George!

Both Richmond and Richard III. invoke the saint:

> Our ancient word of courage, fair St. George,
> Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons.

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[1] Strickland, *Queens of England.*

[2] Flower, *Aquitaine*, pp. 52, 53, quoting Chandos Herald.

Richard swears by his *George*, his Garter and his crown, an anachronism, for the *George* was not suspended from the Collar of the Knights of the Garter until the time of Henry VIII. and the Collar was introduced by King Henry VII., who was the Richmond that Richard was fighting. When Richmond, become Henry VII., was conducted by the aldermen of London to St. Paul's, he made an offering of the banners of his battle, the first of which bore the image of St. George.[1]

It chanced that, by his guilds, St. Joris became not only the patron of the liberties of the people, but of some of their arts as well, as at the prize archery contest held in 1498 at Ghent,[2] convened at the invitation of the old Guild of St. Joris there. To this tournament of archery, if one may call it so, was added by the guild a contest of poets from the Chambers of Rhetoric, with prizes 'for the most beautiful and pleasant plays.' Thirty guilds responded, and many Chambers of Rhetoric. Philip the Fair dignified the occasion by himself accompanying the archers and literati of Bruges, as King of their Guild of St. Joris, and the pageant at Ghent was splendid. The prize in archery was won by the Guild of St. Joris of 's Hertogenbosch, in Brabant, whose members had come with the band of their city and a finely decorated float provided from the public treasury, as the records say, 'in order that they might enter with honour.' The accounts show charges for four silk webs of Pers, painted with the arms of the city,

[1] Jesse, *Memoirs of King Richard III.*
[2] Jhr. Mr. J. B. A. J. M. Verheijen, pp. 56, 57.

to be used in decorating the trumpets, and for green silk, gold thread, braid and tassels, to be used in decorating the float for the maid who represented the city. Four wagons carried the property of the guild, and in the procession the triumphant little company must have won the 'honour' which their corporation had desired for them. Two wagons covered with blue broadcloth were prize wagons; the Brethren, clad in shooting tabards girdled with red sashes, rode in seven wagons decorated with the arms of the guild; after them came the float made to receive the prize, with four lions keeping guard at the corners, and two keeping guard at the purple velvet throne, on which sat the maid representing the city. A savage, bearing in one hand a club and in the other a shield with the arms of the city, stood proudly behind her, and over and around her was a silver forest. Mottoes in golden letters formed part of the decoration. Following the float the standard of St. Joris was carried, with the saint in combat with the dragon; and two heralds carried sceptres, one with a crown, and the other with the parrot, the mark hit by the fortunate archer. Finally came the King of the company, with a bodyguard of fifty-two archers on horseback, and decorations and insignia of his office, the main sign being a chain made of links contributed one each by former Kings of the guild. These insignia are still preserved at the museum of the old church of the Carmelites in Ghent. In such an occasion a transition is apparent from the St. Joris of religion to him of romance.

Some of the Guilds of St. Joris became very rich and

had special privileges accorded them by both corporations and lords. They were powerful as the main guardians of the peace, and as a kind of militia continued to be so even after the Burgundian lords had organised a standing army.[1] Many of them had their own Guildhalls, or Doelen, of which that at the Hague may serve as an example.[2] In 1418 it purchased certain land and church privileges, and later it was endowed with lands by the Hertog and had a chapel of its own in the large church of the city. Its Doelen lay opposite from the tiltyard or tournament grounds, and had a large garden attached. Its first building dates from 1472, and its Doelen became large and luxurious enough to entertain, in 1697, the deputation of two hundred and seventy persons which Peter the Great sent to the Hague, he himself serving as secretary. This guild had exemption from taxes. The members were given in later times the title of Knights of St. Joris, and the guild itself held the title of Illustrious and Honourable Association of St. Joris. The association was disbanded in 1795, and the Doelen was sold. It is now used as a hotel, but has still fragments of its old decoration,[3] among which is a carved stone set into the wall dating from 1625, with a representation of St. George killing the dragon. Of its banquet at the celebration of the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, Van den Helst painted a famous picture. The drinking-cup of the Guild, with St. George in combat, is in

[1] Jhr. A. F. O. van Sasse van Ysselt, Letter.
[2] Miss Kuyper, notes; pamphlet on 'Oude Doelen.'
[3] Mrs. van Dannenburgh, Letter.

the midst. In the War for Independence, in the sixteenth century, the archers of the Guilds of St. Joris opposed the Duke of Alva, and when war began served in the armies of the nation under officers appointed by the State. After independence was gained the St. Joris guilds began to go out of existence gradually as separate organisations, for they no longer served a necessary purpose, the rights which they had cared for having been secured by political independence and the provisions of the constitution. Towards the end of the seventeenth century what guilds of St. Joris still existed merely treasured memories and cultivated brotherhood, the members meeting for practice in archery and for banquets. In general, ministers exercised an influence against them on the ground that they fostered superstition and were not conducive to good morals, this last objection probably arising from the heavy drinking supposed to be done in them. In the days of their greatest usefulness[1] the Guilds of St. Joris received special privileges from the corporations of the cities, among them the right to a certain amount of wine from the public vats free of charge. The popular impression was that the supply was extremely generous, as is evident in the popular saying that a thing is 'poured out of St. Joris' cup' if it is notably generous. Finally, the good saint of the soldier almost degenerated to a patron of the cup, for St. Joris and his dragon came to be favourite signs for inns (as they were in other countries of Northern Europe), and wit of a kind made brandy*wine* into brande*moris* in order that the word

[1] Miss Kuyper, notes.

might rhyme with *St. Joris*, as in the following couplet, which accompanied the representation of the saint upon a signboard in Leiden—

This is the knight St. Joris,
Here we sell brandemoris.

Other Orders and Guilds of St. George were not for active service primarily, but mainly for rewards of merit on the battlefield or for honour or pleasure. Among those of the former purpose are the Russian Military Order of St. George, instituted in 1767, at first for officers, but later for men from the ranks also; the Bavarian Order of St. George, instituted in 1729; that of Hanover,[1] instituted in 1839; that of Sicily, instituted in 1819; and that of St. Michael and St. George of England, instituted in 1818, in commemoration of the accession of the island of Malta. This is sometimes called the Order of the Maltese Cross, and has upon its medal two escutcheons, that upon the dexter side bearing a representation of St. Michael trampling upon Satan, and that on the sinister, St. George on horseback and in armour, with his spear, encountering a dragon. This Order is not at all connected with the English Order of the Garter, which is also an Order of St. George.

The Order of the Garter was instituted in 1349 by Edward III., and had for its purpose neither necessarily war nor rewards for fighting, but good fellowship among kings and nobles and much that is purely romantic. The English had also Guilds of St. George, somewhat like the

[1] Colonel Andrea Cerri's notes.

Guilds of St. Joris in the Low Countries, which celebrated their saint by processions or 'Ridings,' but these Guilds were not for active service in war, apparently, as the Guilds and Orders which have been described, being 'half-social,[1] half-religious fraternities, for the worship of the saint and good fellowship of members.'

It will be noticed that in what follows of the history of Edward III. and the Order which he founded there is nothing of the spirit of the earlier centuries, when monasteries were endowed and crusades undertaken, nothing of martyrdom, and even nothing of slaying sin and combating the Devil. The fighting which will occur will be in play, and the deaths will be for honour. In this is the decline of chivalry, and St. George will soon be the patron of the tournament, as he often is in the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, but could not have been in life or religious legend. Heylyn, who wrote in the time of Charles I. as an apologist for the saint, to make a justification or assertion of his history against those of the Reformation who had 'denied him and tainted his honour,' makes a point of the religious side of the Order of the Garter, quoting the Charter to show that the Order was ordained in the honour of Almighty God and the exaltation of the Holy Catholic Faith, and that the statutes of the Order made heresy a cause sufficient for refusal at election or degradation after installation. Also he pleads as proof of the religious purpose that the banner, helmet, and sword of the member were hung in his stall in St.

[1] E. K. Chambers, *Mediæval Stage.*

George's Chapel, at Windsor, to signify that they are for the defence of Holy Church. But though this is in the Charter, and there was a religious side to the Order, it was not predominant even at the foundation, and the motive seems to have been correctly given by the historians. The holding of a tournament was forbidden by the earlier Church, and its being held was proof of the extent to which the ideals of late chivalry differed from those of religion at the foundation.[1]

Both devotional and romantic sides of the St. George cult are evident in the institution of the Order of the Garter. St. George had been made the patron of the English at Oxford in 1222, but the more ancient Saxon patron, Edward the Confessor, held disputed sway in the minds of King as well as people until the time of Edward III., who made appeal to the Confessor in battle along with the appeal to St. George, as has been told (see p. 66). Perhaps because he made his final appeal to St. George he considered the victory due to him rather than to St. Edward; at any rate, thenceforth St. Edward was displaced entirely by St. George as patron. Having chosen[2] the saint to be the guardian of his soldiery, Edward III. caused him to be 'painted upon a lusty courser, holding a white shield with a red cross on it, and gave to every one of his soldiers a white coat or cassock, with two red crosses, on each side of them one, so that it was a seemly and magnificent thing to see the armies of the English to sparkle like the rising sunne, the solderie

[1] Ashmole and Doran.

[2] Camden, *History*.

of other countries having no habit either to distinguish or adorn them.' He perhaps got his idea from the habit of the Templars or the Spanish Order of St. George, or of St. George's League previously mentioned. Camden accounts for the Garter of this Order of St. George in two possible ways, and inclines to find its origin in the campaign of Richard in the Holy Land, but admits that the origin more commonly assigned it is not unsuitable to the times and accounts for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto and the peculiar badge of the Garter, which has no military or ornamental value. The incident in King Richard's wars referred to is that in which St. George appeared to him at Acre. The Crusaders were 'wearie of lingering delay,' when it came into Richard's mind by an apparition of St. George to draw upon the legs of certain choice knights of his a kind of garter of leather, 'whereby they being distinguished were stirred up to perform their service more bravely, in imitation of the Romans.' Camden says that some have thought that Edward III. had this incident in mind and brought it again forth after it had been awhile forgotten or neglected. The other origin given for the use of the garter as the badge of the Knights of the Order is a traditional court incident of the reign of Edward III. It is said that Edward's mistress, the Countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter at a ball, 'and the King, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favour merely by accident, upon which he called out, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," i.e.,

Seal of the Order of the Garter, from Ashmole.

"Evil be to him that evil thinks," and as every incident of gallantry among those ancient warriors was magnified into a matter of great importance, he instituted the Order of the Garter in memorial of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the Order. This origin, though frivolous, is not unsuitable to the manners of the times.'[1] Heylyn and Ashmole do not look with favour upon the tradition of the Countess of Salisbury's garter as accounting for the Noble Order, and Ashmole argues against the theory which traces the origin of the Order in the garters, if so they may be called, which Richard gave to his soldiers in the Third Crusade, on the ground that that theory was first advanced in the reign of Henry VII. He interprets the garter allegorically, representing that Edward by this symbol designed to bind the knights or fellows of the Noble Order severally to one another and all jointly to himself, as Sovereign of the Order. Edward's purpose in instituting the Order was, according to Ashmole, 'to adorn Martial Virtue with Honours, Rewards, and Splendour; to increase Virtue and Valour in the hearts of his nobility.' Of the foundation of the Order of the Garter Froissart tells that Edward III. 'resolved to rebuild and embellish the great castle at Windsor, which King Arthur had first founded in time past, and where he erected and established that noble Round Table, whence so many gallant knights had issued forth and displayed the valiant prowess of their deeds at arms to all the world. The King determined now to

[1] Camden, *History*, p. 289.

establish an Order of Knighthood, consisting of himself, his children, and the most gallant knights in Christendom, to the number of forty. He ordered it to be denominated "Knights of the Blue Garter," and that the feast should be celebrated every year at Windsor, upon St. George's Day. His nobles heard it with great pleasure, for it appeared to them highly honourable and capable of increasing love and friendship. He then issued his proclamation for this feast by the heralds, whom he sent to challenge the knights throughout France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, and the Empire of Germany. The celebration of this Order was fixed for St. George's Day next ensuing, to be held at Windsor, 1344, and the Queen was to be present, accompanied by three hundred ladies and damsels, all of high births and richly dressed in similar robes.' On the surcoat and hood worn by the founder at the great celebration 168 garters with buckles and pendants were embroidered. It will be seen here how large a part in the establishment of the Noble Order was assigned to robes, rank, those magnificent games called tournaments, and the romantic legends of early kings.

The Order of the Garter as instituted by Edward III. included canons and other church dignitaries, and also poor knights pensioners, who were to be maintained at Windsor.[1]

Some of the Chapters held at Windsor have been notable, as that when the Emperor Sigismund was installed in 1416. He had just burned Huss at the stake

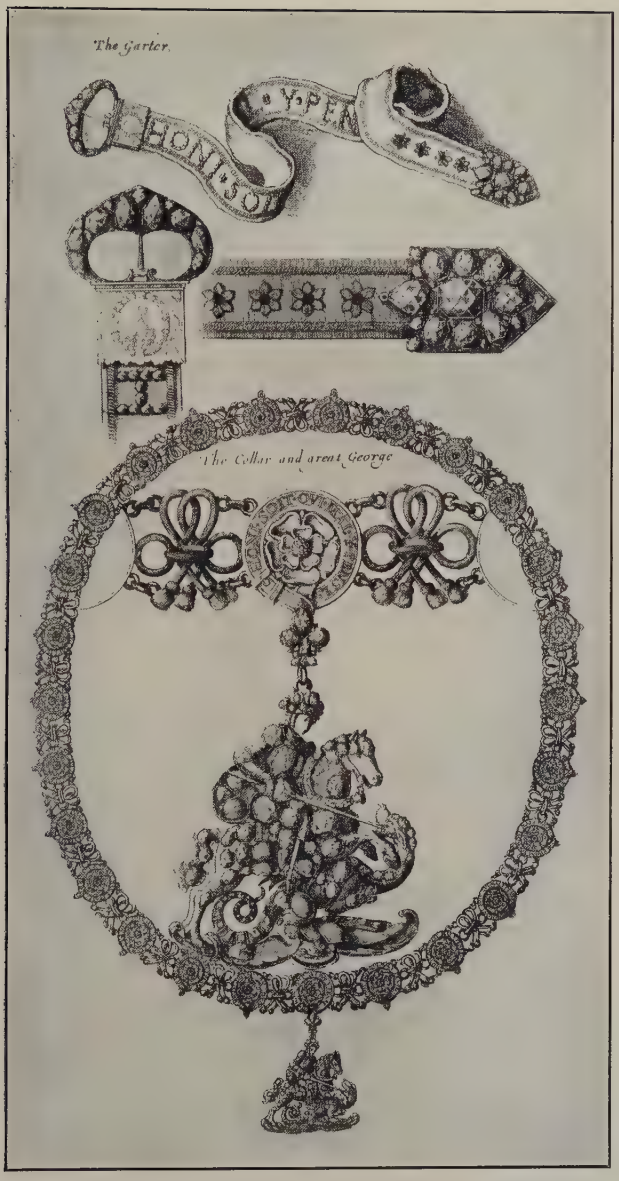
[1] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter.*

after the Council of Constance, and was visiting England, France, and Spain, to invite the princes of those countries to unite with him in crushing all heretics and schismatics that should arise. During the wars with the Turks from the time of the Crusades the Western world strove against unbelievers, and now an internal struggle with heresy began, symbolised also by the struggle with the dragon. In his own country Sigismund instituted an *Order of the Dead Dragon*, signifying 'heresy stamped out.'[1] At his installation he presented the Chapter[2] with the heart of St. George, a relic which was from that time kept with the fragment of the saint's skull at Windsor, and regarded with the greatest of reverence. In the meetings of the Chapter, the knights approached it hand in hand in procession, during the celebration of the Mass, and kissed it, laying aside for this ceremony whatever dislikes they had to each other personally. During the Wars of the Roses this relic seems to have been regarded with more than common reverence by the knights of the opposing factions, each side hoping to win St. George as a confederate. At the banquet of the Order[3] on the occasion of Sigismund's visit, a curious 'soteltie' of St. George was presented in three parts, the first representing the arming of St. George, with an angel fastening on his spurs; the second presenting St. George riding and fighting with the dragon, spear in hand; and the third presenting a

[1] Ashmole, *Order of the Garter.*
[2] Caxton, *Golden Legend;* also Doran, *Knights and their Days.*
[3] E. K. Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, quoting source.

castle to whose gate St. George and the king's daughter led a lamb. This was all in a cake, or marchpane, and was served to the King and the Emperor, while other lords were served with other 'sotelties' after their degree.[1] The departure of Sigismund was followed shortly by a persecution of heretics, for which the poet Hoccleve raised his voice, urging the King and the Knights of the Garter to 'do forth,' and make a law that 'no wight have hardinesse . . . of the feith to despute more or lesse openly among people.' In this poem the King is compared with 'Constantyn, the ensample and the mirour of princes alle,' presumably because Constantine punished heresy, and the Knights Companions are urged to show that they are 'of St. George's liveree,' 'for Christes cause is his, wel knowen ye!' The sequel was the arrest and burning of Sir John Oldcastle and others.[2] When Henry V. visited Paris in 1420 he was welcomed with a St. George entertainment, and when his young son, Henry VI., was crowned in Westminster at the age of nine years, a sumptuous entertainment with St. George as a feature was held. It is described in Fabyan's *Chronicle:* 'And after that solempnzacion the sayd church fynysshed, an honorable feast in the great halle of Westmynster was kepte . . . Between the third course was a sotyltie of our Ladye Syttynge with her childe in her lappe and she holdynge a crowne in her hande. Seynt George and Seynt Denys knelynge on eyther syde presentyd to her kyng Henryes fygure beryng in hande this balade as foloweth:

[1] Skeat, note in *Chaucer*, complete. [2] Gayley, xlii.



GARTER AND COLLAR WITH GEORGE, FROM ASHMOLE'S "ORDER OF THE GARTER."

O blessed Lady, Christys moder dere
And thou seynt George that called art her Knyght.'

During this feast, at the first course, a knight dressed as St. George rode into the hall and offered as his knight and champion to maintain that the king was rightfully heir to the crown.

Henry VII. proved to be one of the most zealous of the English kings in support of St. George and the Order of the Garter, which had undergone various slight changes in the centuries since Edward III.'s time in the costume and organisation.[1] The garter was originally light-blue silk, with the motto set in pearls, rubies and diamonds. It is now of dark-blue velvet about an inch wide, with the motto set in gold letters. The mantle has on the shoulder the badge of the Order, namely, a silver escutcheon charged with the red cross of St. George and encircled with the garter and motto. The costume is very rich, and is completed by a chain that consists of twenty-six pieces, in which interlaced knots of cords interlace with double roses, each surrounded with the garter and its motto, these roses being alternately white within red and red within white, to signify the equal union of the houses of York and Lancaster in the household of Henry VII. Pendant from one of the roses is the *George*, a figure of St. George piercing the dragon, added by Henry VII. English designs of St. George frequently have the rose in decoration, and some of the

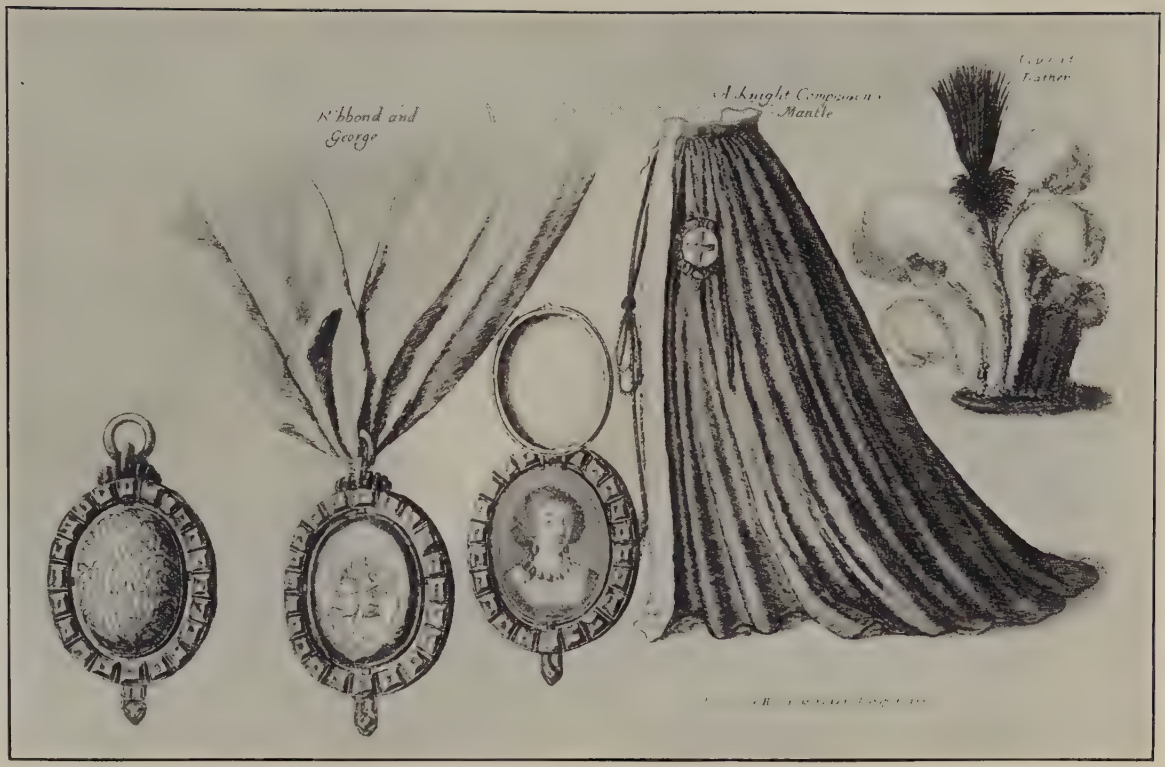
[1] Doran, 'Garteriana,' in *Knights and their Days.*

late writers on the subject attempt to connect the rose with St. George as a kind of emblem, on the argument that it originates from the rosebush at his tomb in Lydda,[1] but no writers of other nations make this point, and it is doubtless a purely national departure, having its origin in the use of the national flower where it is possible as decoration for the national saint. It seems to be always the Tudor rose that is used in this way, and it is often very effective, as in the window of the Cathedral at Antwerp, representing Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York at Antwerp.

This king presented the Order of the Garter with an image of St. George in gold and jewels weighing 140 ounces, to be kept at the College of Windsor, 'there to remain while the world shall endure,' and to be set upon the high altar at all solemn feasts; and at a celebrated Chapter held at St. Paul's in 1505, he gave that cathedral a relic of St. George's leg bone, which he had received as a gift from the Archbishop of Rouen. Both costly image and leg bone have disappeared.

The various statues and paintings of St. George made for Henry VII. have endured better. In the splendid chapel which he built at the east end of Westminster Abbey for the tomb of himself and his wife, St. George stands with the dragon at his feet carved in stone above one of the stalls and cast in bronze at the corner of the beautiful bronze screen surrounding the tomb. The Cathedral at Antwerp has a beautiful window of 1503, in

[1] Clapton, *Life of St. George.*



Robes of Knight of the Garter, from Ashmole.

which he pictured himself and his wife at their devotions, attended by their patrons, St. George and St. Elizabeth, the setting around them being Tudor roses. He had also a Flemish altar-piece representing the combat, with Windsor Castle in the background, and in the foreground himself and his family kneeling in adoration. The original seems to have been destroyed, but an engraving of it is in the collection of the present King at Windsor. A picture of the combat with the dragon was painted for Henry VII. by Raphael and presented to him by the Duke of Este, whom the English king had created a Knight of the Garter. This is called 'St. George with the Garter,' for the Garter of the Order is painted upon the saint's leg. It was purchased by Russia during Cromwell's rule, and is among the most highly prized pieces of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Still another picture, of Henry VII. in adoration of St. George, who stands with banner, dragon at feet, is that in a French miniature of about 1490, where he and the other sovereigns of Europe kneel, including the Emperor Frederick III., Maximilian King of the Romans, Ferdinand King of Spain, Charles VIII. King of France, and others.

Henry VIII. seems not to have been particularly devoted to St. George, as his father had been. Before the meeting of the Cloth of Gold he entertained Charles V., and went with him on a pilgrimage to Canterbury,[1] where they entered the city at St. George's Gate, and doubtless kissed the arm of St. George, which was one of the most precious relics of the Cathedral and

[1] Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury.*

was always offered pilgrims. A little later Colet and Erasmus visited the place together, when Colet refused to do the relic the accustomed honour.[1]

In 1222 St. George was made the patron saint of England, and his day was ordered to be kept as a holiday of the lesser rank; and in 1415 his festival was made a major double feast and was ordered to be observed like Christmas Day. In the first prayer-book of Edward VI. it was a red-letter day, and had a special epistle and gospel appointed, but this was changed in the revision, and presently the King promulgated certain statutes severing the connexion between the saint and the Noble Order of the Garter, keeping the Order, but making an attempt to separate the romantic features from the religious. On the accession of Queen Mary these statutes were at once abrogated as 'impertinent and tending to novelty.' The festival then continued to be observed until 1567, when, the ceremonies being thought incompatible with the reformed religion, Elizabeth ordered its discontinuance.

The cavaliers would have revived the celebration of St. George's Day, but this was prevented by the Civil War. It was long the fashion for gentlemen to wear a blue coat on St. George's Day in imitation of the blue mantle worn by the Knights of St. George, but the custom was never strongly revived. In New England the feeling against the use of the cross on the flag was strong, as can be seen in this incident quoted from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*: 'It was about the year 1633 that one

[1] Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury.*

in *some* authority, under the heat of some impressions from the ministry of Mr. *Williams*, did by his *own* authority cut the *red cross* out of the king's colours, to testify a zeal against the continuance of a *superstition*. This hot action met with a *warm censure;* and besides the mischiefs hereby occasioned among the trained soldiers, whereof some were loth to follow the *colours* which had the *cross*, lest they should put honour upon a Popish *idol;* others were loth to follow the colours which had not the *cross*, lest they should seem to cast off their allegiance to the crown of *England;* the business fell under agitation in the *general court*.' The person who cut the Cross from the flag was Endicott, who declared it idolatrous to let that relic of Antichrist remain, which had been given to the King of England by the Pope. This was in 1634. The judgment of the Court was to 'discard' the culprit from his office for a year, and a harder sentence was not imposed because a real 'tenderness and perswasion of *conscience*, and not any *ill-affected mind* was the real original of his offence.' The historian goes on quaintly to say, 'The *rite* of the *cross in the banner* became on this occasion a matter of controversie, wherein many pious and able men were differently perswaded: and some of our chief worthies maintained their different perswasions with *weapons* indeed no more dangerous than easie *pens*, and effects no worse than a little harmless and learned *ink-shed*.' Several pages of argument used by the disputants follow.

In Denmark St. George seems to have been greatly

venerated and to have been a special patron of those distressed. He was adopted by hospital societies, and almost all of the hospitals and infirmaries of the kingdom are dedicated to him. There is scarcely a town in which his name is not borne by a hospital, or hall, or street. He is also remembered in many churches, some of which bear his name and have statues of him carved in wood and representing his combat with the dragon. Various of these statues are now preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities in Copenhagen.

Very many hospitals throughout Europe date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when leper hospitals became necessary for many who had contracted disease in crusades in the Holy Land.[1] The first such was built by Innocent III. in Rome and was named in honour of St. Spiritus. The work was approved by the Lateran Synod of 1215, and after that great numbers of hospitals were founded in the West, two thousand in France alone, most of them named in honour of St. George. Some of these early foundations have continued to exist, as that at Hamburg, dated 1330 and marked still by the stone carved with a bas-relief of the combat. That in Berlin was taken down only a few years ago to make way for the modern church of St. George. The old St. Georg Kirche in Berlin was built in 1265, and the hospital was built before 1288, when a Gildebrief names it *domus leprosorum*. An old song is preserved in Latin and German:[2]

[1] Wagner, *Geschichte der Georgen-Kirche und Gemeinde*, Berlin.
[2] *Hist. S. Georg Kirche.*

Heil' ger Jürgen, Christi Krieger,
Du, des heil'gen Landes Sieger,
Mit gewalt'ger Heldenhand
Ruhmvoll deine Ritterstärke,
Edel deine frommen Werke
Und dein Glaube gluthenbrannt.

The great Red Cross Society of the nineteenth century is for the soldier and under the red cross, but cannot be connected with St. George. The patron of modern soldiers, the venerable Henri Dunant, proposed to the Italian Committee the formation of a permanent society and the adoption of a flag,[1] 'a Labarum or sign distinctive and sacred, to safeguard the corps and guarantee a kind of Truce of God.' The red cross was adopted instead of the Labarum of Constantine, but without religious and historical intent.[2] The final action was taken at the Geneva Convention, with speeches that regarded the red cross on a white field as the reverse of the Swiss flag, which has a white cross on a red field and dates from the thirteenth century. Though St. George's banner was not in the mind of the person who proposed the red cross, the very symbol was selected which religiously and historically, for Christendom, was fitter than even the Labarum of Constantine for the purpose to be served—the flag of the soldier's saint and ideal. And the Turk had not forgotten the signification of the red

[1] Lisle, *Story of the Red Cross Movement;* Dunant, *Un Souvenier de Solferino.*

[2] Dunant, Letter.

cross in his history and religion, for the Turkish Empire notified the signatory powers that it would join in the humanitarian movement projected, but under the sign of crescent instead of that of the red cross.

Representations of St. George have been used frequently on coins, as on flags. The first coins recognised in Hazlitt's *Coinage of the European Continent* as representing him are Italian.[1] The Este family had St. George as its special patron, and in the time of Ercole I. (1475–1506) used the design of St. George killing the dragon on the reverse of its testone. This design was used in the close of Ercole's reign,[2] displacing the design of a simpler equestrian figure in the Greek taste that had been used in the earlier part of the reign. Hazlitt does not suggest that this equestrian figure was also that of St. George, but it probably was, for in earlier centuries all representations of St. George in Europe showed him on foot or horseback, and it took some centuries after 1298, when the dragon incident was introduced in *The Golden Legend*, for the combat to take the place of standing or equestrian figures in representations of him. The German family of Mansfield,[3] also under the special patronage of St. George, had in the thirteenth century a coinage with an equestrian figure holding a standard, and this developed in the sixteenth into the type of St. George and the dragon. This series began in 1521,[4] and the coins of certain years became very much sought, for a super-

[1] Hazlitt, p. 442. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 125.
[4] Col. van Bijlevelt; also article in *Daheim*.

stition grew up among soldiers that when carried they ensured safety in battle. The English coined their first money with the representation of the combat of St. George in the reign of Henry VIII., 1526, when the *George Noble*[1] was minted. The Gonzaga family of Italy issued a silver scudo representing the combat, in 1622;[2] the Russians have had their coat of arms (which has the combat with the dragon, represented on a shield held by a double eagle)[3] on all coins they have ever minted. In the eighteenth century under George III. a new issue of gold coins was made in England,[4] having the combat on the reverse, and since that time that design has been much used on English coins, and even on some Canadian. The combat was also represented on bills of the bank of Genoa, and is used on some of the Canadian bank bills at present. Other coins with St. George were minted at Rouen,[5] from the mint of the abbot; and pennies were issued in the Netherlands by the Guilds of St. Joris,[6] but probably not for circulation.

It is likely that earlier European coins also had St. George on them, where he is not now recognised. The coins of Southern Europe were largely on the general pattern of Byzantine coins, with the head of the ruler upon one side and a figure upon the other, which in regions where he was most highly venerated probably represented St. George.[7] The coins of Sicily, for instance,

[1] Thorburn, p. 21. [2] Hazlitt, p. 445. [3] Higgins, p. 184.
[4] Thorburn, pp. 51, 53. [5] Hazlitt, p. 854. [6] Kalf, Letter.
[7] Hazlitt, p. 420.

have, in the time of Roger II., 1105–1154, the head of the Duke on one side and a standing figure, understood to be that of a saint, on the other, probably the saint who was the special patron of Sicily, who had led the armies in person to victory both in Sicily and in Palestine during the First Crusade, and who had been honoured in various public ways by the Sicilians—St. George. In Lombardy in the seventh century,[1] when St. George was held in special reverence there, coins had an angel holding a casque, to express the idea of Heaven helping the arms of the nation. Connecting this with the legend of Constantine, who was assisted in his wars by heavenly hosts, this figure might represent either St. Michael or St. George. It would require definite proof to assign it to either.

[1] Hazlitt, p. 420.

CHAPTER V

ROMANTIC DEVELOPMENTS OF ST. GEORGE'S LEGEND

A VERY early poetic version of the story of the combat of St. George, from a Berlin manuscript,[1] has, like the Danish ballad quoted, the king's offer of his daughter in marriage to the victorious Sant Jergge, or Sant Jerge, as he is called, and the knight's refusal of her on the ground of his knightly vow. Both the Scandinavian ballad and the German poem are later than Reinbot von Durne's *Der Heilige Georg*, which does not tell the dragon incident, but gives the legend with a romantic spirit, representing the saint as a knight errant.[2] It was written at the request of the Herzog Otto von Baiern, Pfalzgraf vom Rhein in 1225, with a purpose of honouring the saint in the native tongue. The poet Reinbot took as his model the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, and so is religious, but he is romantic equally. His poem was written for a public that loved adventure and had traditions of Crusades, and is an echo of the heroes and their feats. So far as it tells the old Church legend it is conventional, but when battle is joined it takes on life and energy.

[1] Vetter, *Einleitung*.

[2] Van der Hagen and Busching, Introduction to Reinbot's poem of *Der Heilige Georg;* also Vetter, cx.

In Reinbot von Durne's *Der Heilige Georg*, Geori has two brothers, Theodorus and Demetrius, or Diometer, and is of a mother born in Antioch. The two brothers go to Spain to assist a Christian king there against his pagan enemies. They remain for years among the Spaniards, while Geori is fighting the Saracens in Cappadocia and Greece. The Emperor Diocletian hears of his power and sends King Dacian to oppose him; Dacian is the more willing because his wife Alexandrina is of Cappadocia. The brothers of Geori hear rumours of approaching war, and take ship at Marseilles, and after many dangers arrive at the realm of King Tschofreit von Salnecke, and are reunited with Geori amid such joy that Reinbot thinks none but the best poets, such as Wolfram von Eschenbach, could paint it well. The brothers of Geori are grieved at his danger, and Geori divides his lands among them and tells them of his siege of the chief city of Cappadocia, when King Tschofreit, like Menela of Troy, came to relieve the city. The Saracens were superior and would have won, but that God sent him (Geori) a white banner with a red cross and granted him victory. He refuses the request of his brother Diometer to accompany him, and sets out with sixty knights to the presence of King Dacian, who has heard of his fame as a hero that slays lions, bears, dragons and lintwurms, as well as heathen. This is the only place in the poem where a combat with a dragon is mentioned.

At the Council where Dacian is threatening the Christians with torture, Geori displays his shield with the

cross upon it, declares himself Christian, challenges the enemies of Christ, and names his name. Dacian and Geori then try to convert each other, but neither succeeds; Dacian offers land and riches if Geori will make sacrifice to Apollo, but Geori refuses, and lets Dacian cast him into prison and place a great stone upon him. Jesus comforts him and lets a light shine about him. Geori is accused of magic practices, but gives Jesus the praise and begins his seven years of martyrdom, comforted by a voice from God. Geori does miracles in the house of a widow, and converts the Empress Alexandrina. In the temple of Apollo he vanquishes the false god and commands him to go down to Hell, as in the apocryphal account. Alexandrina confesses her faith and is put to torture. When Geori had put him to shame, Apollo seemed to her an ape; when she was baptised Jesus appeared triune God —Light, Lion, and Lamb. She gives her husband back her crown and her position as his wife, for she can no longer remain with him. This moves him to tears, but he gives her over to death, commanding the soldiers to exercise the greatest attention that Geori do not carry her off with magic as Paris carried Helen. Upon her prayer an angel permits her to take grateful farewell of Geori. Looking to heaven she sees two splendid thrones with two shining crowns, predicts for Geori a martyrdom of seven years, and is beheaded while praying. Two angels—a messenger tells the Emperor two fiery eagles—carry her soul to heaven. To prove her prophecy of the seven years of martyrdom, Dacian has Geori sawed into four pieces

and cast into a pool, but St. Michael with cherubim brings him to life and clothes him with splendour. Reinbot here honours him as child of the Sun and the Rose. Supposing that Geori is dead, the Emperor calls a crusade against his brothers, but Geori appears, converts twelve thousand heathen, and sees these martyred for their faith. Dacian tries to bribe Geori, but Geori tells him that Diometer and Theodorus would still carry on Christian war if he were dead, and that they have just had a great victory and won allies at Antioch. Geori then does the miracles of bringing two hundred and thirteen dead back to life, but Dacian will not be persuaded to become a Christian. The kings, except Dacian, now hold a feast in honour of Geori, whose beauty is like that of the morning star, and could bewitch the nuns of Gisilfelt to forget their matins. He entertains them with the story of the war against Salnecker, which he won by the help of the banner sent him from heaven. Anastasius, the magician, advises that poisoned thorns be thrust under his nails, where his power of sorcery lies, but this does not kill him, and converts Anastasius to Christ. Dacian is now curious to know other things about Geori, and Magedon, a convert, tells how he was elected King of Greece because he was so virtuous—he had entered into the Palace of Virtue, with all its Chambers of Steadfastness, Faith, Mercy, Temperance, Chastity, Purity and Truth. This had never before been entered by man, therefore Geori is proved superior to all in virtue as in beauty. Geori is tortured for seven years, and at last is beheaded, for which

form of execution he has prayed; but he calls down judgment upon Dacian, with the result that a great fire destroys Dacian and his followers, while the archangel, St. Michael, accompanied by many followers, carries Geori to heaven, where he is welcomed with great joy. The poem ends with Reinbot's good wishes to his readers and Abraham's blessing to his Herzog and Herzogin.

This poem of Reinbot's is clearly not only a Church legend, but also a romance of chivalry, with all of the distinctive features. The combats are akin to the combats of *Amadis of Gaul*, which were written a century later, and the allegory of the Chambers of Virtue is a model for those into which Amadis and Oriana, but no other mortals, can enter, and also for those of the *Faerie Queene*. But in the *Amadis of Gaul*[1] no mention of St. George is made, either as a saint or as a romantic hero. In the Norman-French romance of *Robert the Devil*[2] St. George appears in person and as a saint to supply the penitent hero with needed armour. By this help of the saint Robert assists the Romans in driving back the pagans who are making an attack upon Rome. Here the saint appears as the Crusaders saw him at Jerusalem. The date of this romance is supposed to be the end of the twelfth century.

In the Italian romances which were models for the *Faerie Queene*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, St. George has mention as a saint whose relics and representations inspire devotion, but is

[1] *Amadis of Gaul*, trans. by Southey.
[2] Matzke, xix. p. 449.

not also, as in the *Faerie Queene*, a hero who takes active part. In *Orlando Furioso*, Book XV., Astolpho receives from Sansonetto, as a gift:[1]

> A costly belt with rich embroidery weav'd,
> And two fair spurs, resplendent to behold,
> Gold were the buckles, and the rowels gold,
> Believed the Champion's once whose valiant deed
> The holy virgin from the dragon freed.

Tasso[2] has a passage where the mother of Clorinda pays secret devotions before a picture of the combat of St. George:

> Her pictur'd room a sacred story shows,
> Where rich with life each mimic figure glows:
> There white as snow appears a lovely maid,
> And, near, a dragon's hideous form display'd:
> A champion through the beast a javelin sends,
> And in his blood the monster's bulk extends:
> Here oft the queen her secret faults confess'd.

In her prayer she petitions the saint:

> Thou, heavenly Chief! whose arm the serpent brav'd.

In Tasso's poem of *Jerusalem Delivered*,[3] St. Michael often comes to the aid of the Crusaders, but, strangely, never St. George.

In its religious and moral intent, as well as in its allegory, Reinbot's poem is like Spenser's *Faerie Queene*,[4]

[1] *Orlando Furioso*, Hoole's trans., Vol. ii. p. 212, canto xv.
[2] Ibid., *note*, Vol. ii. p. 212.
[3] Fairfax's trans. of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.
[4] Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book i.

except that the *Faerie Queene* is more largely allegorical. In the *Faerie Queene* the Red Cross Knight is the personified virtue of Holiness, and is riding forth as a knight errant in the service of the Faerie Queene. He fights Error in various forms, and is always victorious when he is in the service of Una (Truth), but when he mistrusts her and gives his service to Duessa (Falsehood) he is overcome and cast into prison, and would die but that Una brings King Arthur to his rescue, who is the patron of all virtues, and himself in quest of the Faerie Queene. After his delivery he is taught repentance at the House of Holiness by Faith, Hope and Charity, and from here he goes on, strengthened for the final struggle of his quest, to slay the dragon that beleaguers the Father of Truth. This great combat occurs in Paradise, the approach to Heaven, which has been closed to man since Sin entered into it, and Sin is, in the allegory, that Old Dragon of the Apocalypse. The combat lasts three days, and by the healing balm of the Tree of Life and the waters of the Living Fountain, and by the prayers of his true Una, he is victorious. After the victory he is betrothed to Una with the consent of her Father, and, in spite of a final attempt of Duessa to reclaim him, is wedded to Una in Heaven. This poem is religious and moral, but also it is most romantic, with fierce wars and faithful loves, and with the freest use of Greek mythology and mythical heroes like King Arthur and Merlin.

An Italian and French romantic development of the

St. George story[1] introduces him into the Charlemagne cycle and the career of Huon of Bordeaux. Here he is a twin brother of Oberon, King of the Fairies, and the two are children of Julius Cæsar and the Queen of the Fays. Both are made knights on the same day, and St. George is made King of India and Romaigne, while Oberon is King of Honguerie and Osterrisce. When Herod causes the little children to be killed, George goes to India. Returning through Persia, he carries with him as his wife the daughter of the King of Babylon. On the way they lie down on a mountain to rest, when a huge snake comes, breathing fire and flame, and is killed by St. George. Here also a child is born to him and his princess, and the prayers of St. George bring Joseph, Mary, and the Christ Child, who are fleeing from Herod, to the assistance of the princess in her labour. Mary takes care of the child, and bathes it in the same spring that her own Holy Child has bathed in, thus making it 'healthy as a fish.' St. George goes out after food, comes upon a band of thirty-four robbers, and slays all but three of them. These, fleeing, come upon George's wife and child, along with the Holy Family, sleeping. One cuts off the beard of Joseph, another takes his staff, and the third carries away the newly-born child.

In the mean time George returns, follows the three robbers, and takes back what they have carried off. Joseph's beard is replaced by the Virgin Mary, and grows

[1] Vetter, xciv., quoting A. Graf, *I Complimenti della Chanson d'Huon de Bordeaux* (Halle, 1878); also Matzke, xix.

wonderfully. George, on the advice of the Virgin, takes his wife and son to a neighbouring castle, where they stay a month and then journey on. In Rome it is festival time ; his wife receives her crown, lands, and people ; and after Julius Cæsar's death, St. George becomes Emperor of Rome, lives happy, and dies blessed. Oberon, his twin brother, becomes King of the Fairies, helps Huon of Bordeaux in his adventures when he has an impossible task to accomplish, and finally compels Charlemagne to reinstate Huon among the Peers.

In the English prose romance of the *Seven Champions*[1] *of Christendom*, which was published a few years after the *Faerie Queene*, St. George is not allegorical for virtue, but is a very mundane hero, as are the others of the seven national champions who form his brotherhood. From Merlin to Prester John, old characters of romance figure with or against him, and the scene of their action is Europe, Asia and Africa. In this story,[2] and also in the ballads which grew from it, the circumstance of the marvellous birth is told, of his mother's recurring dream that she had given birth to a dragon which would cause her death, of his father's seeking the Weird Lady of the Woods to ask an interpretation of the dream, of the birth of the babe during his absence on a night when nature was convulsed and witches abroad. He has three mystic birth marks, a red cross upon his right arm, a green dragon on his breast, and a gold garter upon his left leg. He is stolen

[1] Johnson, *Seven Champions of Christendom.*

[2] 'Birth of St. George,' ballad in Percy's *Reliques;* also in Child's *British Ballads.*

from his nurses by a powerful witch who knows that he is to be the greatest knight of the world. This witch, Calyb, steals also the other six infant saints to bring them up as her champions. But St. George, when he reaches manhood, enchants her with her own wand, sets his comrades free, and leads them forth as knights errant. St. George's first adventure is in Egypt, where he slays the dragon that is about to devour Sabra, the princess who has been chained to a stake, like Andromeda. She is pagan, but willing to become Christian and marry him. A rival, the Black Moorish king of Morocco, intervenes and has him sent to Persia, where he is treacherously imprisoned for seven years. On his escape he rescues Sabra from the Moor, and escapes with her to Europe. Her virginity is proved by the protection which a lioness gives her. St. George duplicates the exploits of Sir Bevis of Hampton, as Dr. Matzke has shown, and also directs a crusade in which he and his champions are the undoing of the heathen world. At the birth of Sabra's child three heathen goddesses officiate, and after her death the Champions make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot, and finally die, each in a remarkable way. One romantic incident is that where Sabra has been condemned to die at the stake unless proved innocent in the Ordeal by Combat, but is saved by St. George, who arrives not a moment too soon. This gave Scott his incident in *Ivanhoe*, where Rebecca stands at the stake.

In the *Faerie Queene* St. George is united to Una in Paradise ; in the *Seven Champions* he weds the Egyptian

Sabra on earth, and becomes the pattern of a lover and a husband.

In the east as well as the west of Christendom, the legend of St. George went the way of romance.[1] In a Russian version, in which St. George is called Egori, his father and mother are carried into captivity by a Tartar Khan. When he reaches manhood, he sets out to rescue his mother, and finds her being beaten by Tartars. When he threatens them they try to chop him to pieces, to saw him asunder, and to boil him in tar, but the edges of the axes and the teeth of the saws are turned, and the tar holds him floating on its surface without burning him. When the Tartars put him into prison a great storm arises and tears asunder the oak of which his prison is made. When he escapes he finds a harnessed horse and a great sword awaiting him. Riding through the woods, he meets a great pack of wolves, which he guides against the Khan, thus creating a diversion that enables him to force his way to the Khan's person, kill him, and rescue the mother. In other versions he has to set free the captive by killing other beasts, a snake with twelve heads, or a herd or nest of snakes. Sometimes it is not his mother, but his three sisters, who are in captivity to a heathen king.

A Roumanian version has some of the features of the *Seven Champions of Christendom* and the Ballad of St. George's birth, and also some incidents from the Siegfried story.[2] The Empress, George's mother, sees in a dream a dragon which threatens her; later she bears a son. The

[1] Vetter, quoting Veselovskij.

[2] Vetter, *Einleitung* c.

father has costly clothes prepared for it, upon which its name is worked. It is baptised at a spring at the foot of a mountain, where robbers live who attack the Empress' party and take her prisoner. To save it she has the child thrown into the bushes, where it is adopted by a hermit and suckled by a she-goat. This incident has a parallel in the story of Orson and in that of the son of Amadis of Gaul. After the death of the hermit the hero goes forth clad in skin and the people run after him and take him for a bear. He enters a smith's stall and takes the weapon which he sees, but when the smith will not let him go without paying for it, proposes to serve a year as apprentice. In two years he becomes a master smith. When finally he asks for armour, the smith answers that he has iron enough to make one, but that George will have to go for coal into the black forest, so intending to kill him, for in that wood is a monster, a *scorpia*, that is deadly. George runs into the forest, taking with him a sword, with which he cuts the dragon into two halves as it flies by. He hears a beautiful bird giving thanks that he is safe and telling him to bathe in the monster's blood. He does this and is covered with the blood, except on a spot where a leaf falls on his back. The bird warns him to protect that part well. He goes back carrying the head of the scorpia and the coals, and smithies a sword which he calls Balmut, My Helper, Slayer of my Foes. In the smithy all die meanwhile from looking at the head of the scorpia, and George grieves for it, but cannot help it, and sets out to seek his

parents. He hears of his mother's captivity, and demands her of the Chief of the Robbers, but is told that he must fight for her. An apparition changes the mind of the robber, a shadow commands him to let the captive go, and to seek a bearskin and a chain. He puts a bearskin garment on, he changes to a bear, and the Empress leads him with a chain. In this situation George finds them. In this last incident there seems a strong parallel to the princess leading the dragon into the city with her girdle.

The legend of the combat was localised at Mansfeld, in Germany, where the warrior is declared to have been a knight named George, who was Count of Mansfeld[1] and whose one daughter was the damsel rescued from the maw of the dragon. His statue as he slew the dragon stands over the church door, and here there can be little doubt that the statue, whether intended for St. George or some other person, caused the localisation of the tradition. The islanders of Sardinia[2] have a St. George of their own, who was Bishop of Suelli. In the commune of a village in the Province of Cagliari is a tract called the Plain of Blood, where grew a reddish plant said to have been tinged by the blood of the dragon which St. George slew there.[3] At an exhibition at Palermo a few years ago, some pictures were shown, specimens of native art, one of which represented St. George on horseback; another was thus described by the interpreter: 'There was a dragon that slew all the virgins; St. George killed it.[4] Near the place where the dragon died was a euphorbia tree, wherein a

[1] Hartland, *Legend of Perseus.* [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

virgin who was afraid of the beast had taken refuge. The virgin did not believe that the dragon was dead, and St. George gave her the chord saying, "Pull it, and thou will see that it does not move."'[1] The people of Ghent and of Bruges had a tradition that Crusaders from their cities united to slay a dragon which was trying to destroy a princess; that a feud arose about the dragon, which the people of Bruges were dragging with them; and that the men of Ghent, who succeeded in taking it, thereafter commemorated the event in effigy on their bell tower.[2] Leipzig has a Ritterstrasse, where St. George overtook the dragon, and where his horse cast a shoe into a linden tree, in which it is said to be still imbedded and built into the masonry of the Nikolaikirche. The dragon was killed also at the yard of Thomaskirche, and at the present Georgehouse,[3] at both of which places paintings commemorate the event. At Oudenaarde,[4] in the Netherlands, the skin of the dragon used to be shown, and was said to have been given to the chapel by the grateful father of the princess. Also at Augsburg, in Bavaria, the dragon was killed by St. George, and at Stein a. Rh., in Switzerland, where the monastery was under the patronage of St. George and had the seal of the saint, standing, without the dragon. The city adopted the combat with the dragon for its seal. In the thirteenth century seals and medals of the monastery were in use, as well as many carvings, paintings, and other representations of the saint, sometimes with the king's daughter, sometimes with the lamb, and once with

[1] Vetter, xciii., xciv. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

an angel who bears a crown from heaven. The city still treasures a banner given to it in 1512 by Pope Julius II. after an Italian campaign, doubtless to reward the Swiss mercenaries. Along with it the Pope gave the city permission to use for ever for its seal the figure on the banner, a representation of God crowning the head of the saint, who has just slain the dragon. In this locality it is told that St. George married the king's daughter when he had delivered her.

In later centuries the combat with the dragon came to be one of the most romantic stories of Europe, and St. George as a romantic hero surpassed the great national heroes such as the Cid, Orlando, King Arthur, Ogier the Dane, and Red Beard. Each nation that touched his story left its mark upon it, and most of the nations touched it. Swedish and Danish, German and Norman-French ballads and tales of St. George and the dragon are numerous between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Seven Grecian cities claim the honour of Homer's birth, but more than seven countries claim the honour of St. George's birth and struggle with the dragon, some placing it in Cappadocia, some in Libya, others in Syria,[1] and still others within their own national boundaries as the German at Berlin or Furth, the Dutch at Oudenaarde, the Wallachians at Orwoza, the people of the little island of Funen at Svendborg, the Swedes at Tabiam and the English at Coventry. It is evident that here there is romancing, as

[1] Child, note to 'St. George Ballads,' in *British Ballads*.

there is in the Russian song[1] which represents St. George as having legs of pure silver, arms to the elbow of red gold, and head of a precious stone; and in the English ballad in Percy's *Reliques*, where his infancy is described:

Fair as the sweetest flower of Spring,
  Such was his infant mien;
And on his little body stamped
  Three wondrous marks were seen:

A blood red cross was on his arm,
  A dragon on his breast,
A little garter all of gold,
  Was round his leg exprest.

This garter appears in the ballad because of the romantic feature of the Order of the Garter founded by Edward III. In a famous picture of St. George[2] painted by Raphael for Henry VII., now owned by Russia, and known as George of the Garter, the romantic garter actually encircles the knight's leg. There are many instances of extravagant and fantastic lengths to which romancers went, and it becomes difficult to tell whether the people of any later given time regarded St. George more as a romantic hero or more as a saint.

In a Dutch song of this later period a maiden sings to her lover, using St. Joris' name as a fit term of endearment and a synonym to mean what is most perfect in the way of a lover, and romance:[3]

You have set free your dove, my knight, my Joris.

[1] Vetter, *Einleitung*, lxxv. [2] Clement, *Saints in Art*.
[3] Miss Kuyper's notes.

After criticism had done its destructive work, humour, with a touch of sarcasm, characterises songs and representations of St. Joris, as in the following, a free translation of an old song of Holland:

St. Joris slew, as has been told,
A frightful dragon, bad and bold,
And loosed a maiden from its hold,
The valiant St. Joris.

But many a man, Oh, pity's sake,
Seems now of him a myth to make,
And says St. Joris and the drake
Are neither one historic.

CHAPTER VI

ST. GEORGE IN THE LATER CENTURIES

BEFORE the Reformation religious processions, as that of Corpus Christi, included a presentation of St. George, and often also of his combat with the dragon. The Puritans became hostile to these, as is seen in the following from Googe, commenting upon a procession which was headed by the Pyx carried reverently under a canopy:[1]

Christe's passion here derided is with sundrie maskes and plays,
Fair Ursley, with her maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes:
And, valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadful dragon here.
The Devil's house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere
A wonderous sort of damned spirits, with foule and fearfull looke;
Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke;
Sebastian, full of fethered shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele,
There walketh Kathren, with hir sword in hand and cruel wheele:
The challis and the singing cake with Barbara is led,
And sundrie other pageants playde, in worship of this bred,
That please the foolish people well; what should I stand upon
Their banners, crosses candlestickes, and reliques many on,
Their cuppes and carved images, that priestes with count'nance hie
Or rude and common people, beare about ful solemlie.
Saint John before the bread doth go, and pointing towards him,
Doth show the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne:

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[1] Brand-Ellis, *Popular Antiquities.*

TINTORETTO.—ST. GEORGE, ST. MARGARET, AND ST. LOUIS.
Painting in Doge's Chapel, Ducal Palace, Venice.

On whome two clad in angels shape do sundrie flowers fling,
A number great with sacring belles, with pleasant sound doe ring.
The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and every streete beside,
And to the walles and windows all are boughes and braunches tide.
The straunger passing through the street upon his knees doe fall,
And earnestly upon this bread, as on his God, doth call.

While the King and his Knights of the Garter celebrated St. George's Day in sumptuous manner at Windsor, the common people celebrated with bonfires and merry-making of other sort.[1] Municipal celebrations of semi-ecclesiastical character called 'ridings' represented St. George's combat with the dragon. From the end of the fourteenth century these were given by the Guilds of St. George previously mentioned, very like those given by the Continental Guilds of St. Joris.[2] That at Norwich may serve as an example. It was founded in 1385, chartered in 1416, and in 1451 had obtained a predominant part in the government of the city. The 'brethren and sustren' had a chapel in the choir of the cathedral. An account exists of the celebration held in 1408, when St. George in conflict with the dragon moved in procession and kept his estate two days. The George wore armour of beaten silver and had a club-bearer, henchmen, and minstrels with banners. He was accompanied by the guild-priest and the court and brethren of the guild in red and white capes and gowns. In 1537 there had been added to the *dramatis personae* St. Margaret, as in the processions of St. George in the Netherlands and Belgium. The dragon

[1] Chambers, *Med. Stage*, p. 389. [2] Ibid.

was of basket-work and painted cloth and could open and shut its wings and distend and contract its head. The ranks were kept by 'whifflers' who juggled with their swords, and by Dick Fools in motley decked with cats' tails and small bells. At the Reformation, in 1552, the Court ordered 'there shall be neither George nor Margaret, but for pastime the dragon to come and show himself as in other years.' In spite of an attempt to suppress him at the time of the Long Parliament the dragon continued to appear until 1732, when the guild was dissolved.[1] The records show that at Dublin a St. George procession included an Emperor and Empress with followers, two doctors for the Emperor, and two knights with two maiden train-bearers for the Empress; St. George with four attendants on horseback, to bear the pole-axe, the standard, and St. George's and the Emperor's swords; four trumpeters; the King of Dele and two knights, the Queen of Dele with two maidens to bear the train of her gown, all in black; and the dragon led by a line.

In England, Scotland, and Ireland, at popular entertainments, fairs, and merrymakings, St. George was represented in the nineteenth century often in a strangely humble capacity and an inadequate manner, as in the sword-dance in Scotch Islands described in the notes of Sir Walter Scott,[2] and in the mummeries described in Hardy's *Return of the Native*.[3] In the sword-dance the boastful seven champions add something to the dancing,

[1] Chambers, *Med. Stage*, pp. 365, 366. [2] Scott, *The Pirate*, notes.
[3] Hardy, *Return of the Native*.

and in the mummeries the great saint adds to the fun, associated as he is with the most grotesque companions, Captain Slasher with sword and pistol, the Turkish Champion with smutted face, a clown to cut capers, and Beelzebub to collect coppers with a frying pan. St. George, in the course of the action, suffers ignoble defeat at the hands of the Turkish Champion, and even more ignoble, humiliating resurrection at the hands of a facetious Doctor, whose 'wisdom lies in his wig.'

A Christmas rhyme of St. George was still presented in the last years of the nineteenth century in Belfast, Ireland, representing St. George, St. Patrick, and Oliver Cromwell in company with the Turky Champion, Beelzebub, Little Devil Doubt, and a Doctor, each announced by a Prologue or factotum. The parts were taken by boys armed with wooden swords and dressed with some little regard to character. St. Patrick wears a mitre and carries a crozier, St. George has a cross, the Turky Champion has a crescent in his bonnet, the Doctor carries a cane and a labelled bottle of medicine, Beelzebub has a club, Little Devil Doubt a broom. Though he succeeds in making the Turk fall, St. George plays a far from heroic part, and takes St. Patrick's insults and boasts meekly. St. George is here derived largely from the *Seven Champions;* St. Patrick and Oliver Cromwell are introduced as local characters; Beelzebub and Little Devil Doubt survive from the old Morality play. The following is the rhyme, a crude piece of composition and printing illustrated with rude woodcuts:

Room, room, brave gallant boys, come give us room to rhyme, we are come to show our activity at the Christmas time. Active young and active age, the like was never acted on a stage; and if you don't believe what I say, enter in St. George, and clear the way.

Here comes I, St. George, from England have I sprung, one of those noble deeds of valour to begin; seven long years in a close cave have I been kept, and out of that into a prison leapt; and out of that into a block of stone, where I made many a sad and grievous moan. Many a giant I did subdue, I ran the fiery dragon through and through; I freed fair Sabra from the stake; what more could mortal man then undertake? I fought them all courageously, and still have gained the victory; and will always fight for liberty. Here I draw my bloody weapon—show me the man that dare me stand, I 'll cut him down with my courageous hand.

I am the man that dare you challenge, whose courage is great, and with my sword I make dukes and earls to quake.

Who are you but a poor silly lad?

I am a Turkey champion, from Turkeyland I came, to fight you, Great George by name. I 'll cut you and slash you, and send you to Turkey, to make mince-pies baked in an oven, and after I have done I 'll fight ever a champion in Christendom.

A doctor, a doctor, ten pounds for a doctor! is there never a doctor to be found, who can cure this man of this deep and mortal wound?

I am a doctor, pure and good, and with my sword I 'll staunch his blood; if you have a mind this man's life to save, full fifty guineas I must have.

What can you cure, doctor?

I can cure the plague within, the plague without, the palsy and the gout; moreover than that, if you bring me an old woman of three score and ten, and the knuckle bone of her toe be broken, I can fix it again. And if you don't believe what I say, enter in St. Patrick and clear the way.

Here comes I, St. Patrick, in shining armour bright, a famous champion and a worthy knight. What was St. George but St. Patrick's

boy, who fed his horse on oats and hay, and afterwards he ran away.

I say, by George, you lie, sir, pull out your sword and try, sir; pull out your purse and pay, sir; I 'll run my sword through your body and make you run away, sir; so enter in Oliver Cromwell, and clear the way.

Here comes I, Oliver Cromwell, as you may suppose, I conquered many nations with my copper nose. I made my foes for to tremble and my enemies for to quake, and beat my opposers till I made their hearts to ache; and if you don't believe what I say, enter, in Beelzebub, and clear the way.

Here comes I, Beelzebub, and over my shoulder I carry my club, and in my hand a dripping-pan. I think myself a jolly old man; and if you don't believe what I say, enter in Devil Doubt, and clear the way.

Here comes I, Little Devil Doubt, if you don't give me money I 'll sweep you all out; money I want, and money I crave, if you don't give me money I 'll sweep you all to your grave.

Gentlemen and ladies, since our sport is ended, our box must now be recommended; our box would speak if it had a tongue, nine or ten shillings would do it no wrong. All silver and no brass.

Song by Them All.

Your cellar doors are locked,
And we 're all like to choke.
And it 's all for the drink
That we sing, boys sing.

In the Christmas play performed by the Derbyshire mummers[1] a strange corruption changes the name of *St. George* to *King George*, though he is still the dragon slayer:

'Twas me who slew the dragon, and brought him to the slaughter,
And won the King of Egypt's daughter.

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[1] Halliwell-Phillips, contribution to *Early English Popular Literature.*

In the Revesby Morris Dance[1] the change has gone still farther, and St. George has been altogether eliminated, or displaced by a Fool, while his dragon comes out to fight at the call and to the footing of Pickle Herring, Blue Breeches, Pepper Breeches, Ginger Breeches, and Mr. Allspice. A great transition occurs from the martyrdom in the early legend to the 'fierce warres and faithful loves,' the enchantments and the spiriting of the Faerie Queene, but not so great as that from the fine moral allegory of Spenser's romance to the nonsense and coarseness of the mumming of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It will be observed that in these the religious and allegorical element have entirely disappeared.

In presentation of the Christmas plays of St. George[2] a circle is usually drawn to mark the limits of the stage, and costumes frequently consist of masks and armour like leaves. This last fact is significant of an influence from pagan times and yearly festivals in which changes of season were dramatised, and most of the versions give still further evidence of such influence in the death and revivification of characters. In the Lutterworth play Prince George fights the Turkish Knights, is slain, and then revived by the Doctor. In the Warwickshire play the Turkish Knight fights with St. George, is killed, and then revived by Father Christmas; is killed again, and revived by the Doctor. In an Oxfordshire play the Dragon enters, all the characters fight and die, but all are

[1] *Folk Lore Journal*, vii. Ordish. [2] Beatty, pp. 276, 277.

revived by the Doctor except the Dragon. In a Dorsetshire play St. Patrick kills Captain Bluster, St. George kills the Gracious King, General Valentine and Colonel Spring; and the Irish Doctor revives them all. Old Father Christmas kills Old Bet, his wife, and the Doctor revives her. Here the influence of other plays is even more evident than in the preceding.

At the Padstow Hobby Horse Procession,[1] which is still given every Spring, St. George is called upon in a vague and romantic way, and a new point seems to be added to his legend, that he is out in his long boat on the sea to fetch the summer and the May. The following are verses of the Day Song:

Awake, St. George, our English Knight O,
For summer is acome O and winter is ago,
And every day God give us His grace,
By day and by night O.

Where is St. George, where is he O.
He is out in his long boat all on the salt sea O,
And in every land O, the land that ere we go,
And for to fetch the summer home,
The summer and the May O,
For summer is acome and winter is ago.

In the 'Furry Song,' sung annually on May 8, the 'Furryday' of Helston, in Cornwall, *St. George* and *King George* seem interchangeable terms, as in the Derbyshire play mentioned:

[1] *Folk Lore Journol*, 1905.

As for St. George O,
St. George he was a knight O;
Of all the kings in Christendom
King Georgey is the right O;
In every land O,
Each land where'er we go!

It is possible that here one of the four Georges is meant by *King George*, however.

This class of survivals of the great St. George legend are rather melancholy. There are more profitable and beautiful survivals, of both religious and romantic sorts, such as those described in Chapter V.

A curious accretion to the St. George legend occurred in Wales in the nineteenth century, when a book [1] was written in 1885, localising the struggle with the dragon there, and arguing for a historical St. George who in person visited Wales and killed a dragon. A curious feature of this combat is the introduction into it of two dogs, which St. George wisely trains to attack a wooden dragon, knowing that the real monster will be very difficult to kill. The dragon lies sleeping when St. George first hurls his spear at it. Its sweeping tail unhorses him, one of his trained dogs grips its throat, the other threatens it from the front, when St. George pierces its heart with a thrust from below. It falls on top of him and would kill him, but that his friends draw him from under it. There is no princess in this account, and all of the incidents are the same as those in Schiller's *Kampf mit dem*

[1] *St. George and the Dragon: A World-wide Legend Localised*, by Guanon. London: Wyman & Sons, 1885.

ST. GEORGE IN COMBAT.

Modern "image de piété," Paris, 1908. *Cf., "St. Michael," pp.* 18–19.

Drachen,[1] which is earlier in point of time, and which is told not of St. George, but of a Knight of St. John at Cyprus.

At present there is an attempt to bring back an observance of St. George's Day in England, and a flourishing organisation, the Royal Society of St. George,[2] founded in 1905, has for its purpose to stir patriotism and revive the celebration in every part of the world, especially throughout the British Empire, on April 23. Bells are rung and the ancient flag of England, with St. George's Cross, is displayed, and private dinners and public banquets are enjoyed, at which white and red roses are worn. The annual report (1906) of the society shows that such celebrations were held wherever British subjects reside, some of them in the United States.

Several important new churches and chapels of St. George have recently been established, as the College Church of St. George at Jerusalem, and the Chapel of St. George in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in which the Order of St. Michael and St. George holds its service on St. George's Day. Dr. Wordsworth,[3] the Bishop of Salisbury, wrote two new collects for the consecration and future use of the College Church of St. George in Jerusalem on the holiday of its patron saint. A cantata fit for the secular celebrations of the Royal Society of St. George, and recounting the story of the combat with

[1] *Folk Lore Journal*, 1905.
[2] Pamphlet and Year Book.
[3] Gordon, *St. George*.

the dragon, has been written very lately, with words by Shapcott Wensley.

In the United States sporadic societies of St. George are also organised among nationalities other than English who venerate the saint, as the Society of St. George which the Syrians had in Grand Rapids, Michigan, for religious and social purposes. This contributed money for the support of the Church of St. George in Aitha, Syria, and later developed into St. George's Church, of Greek Catholic denomination. Various American cities have Roman Catholic and Episcopalian churches of St. George. A play has been twice given within a few years at Bryn Mawr by the students at their May Festival, and a Cantata of St. George[1] was given in 1907 at the Ypsilanti Normal School by the Choral Society. But in general little is known of St. George's legend. His name is sometimes ejaculated, 'By George!' but by habit and 'as an expression' by people who do not know who *George* was.

In the Eastern, or Greek Church, St. George is much venerated, and both religious and romantic features of his cult are preserved.[2] His holiday, April 23, is second only to Christmas and Easter in the observance which it is given. Every Greek and Russian church has an icon of St. George,[3] and these are of the combat with the dragon, which is understood to be allegorical. In the Greek and

[1] Cantata, by Shapcott Wensley, *The Banner of St. George.*
[2] Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, April 23.
[3] Salem Gahreeb, notes.

ST. GEORGE IN COMBAT.

In Russian-Greek Church, New York *Cf., p.* 22.

Syrian Church the picture includes the princess and her parents, and usually represents the father holding out the keys of the kingdom. The princess, who is on horseback behind St. George, has in her hand a cup supposed to be used by him to wash the blood from his hands after the combat. In the Russian eikons the princess and her parents do not appear. Not only the dragon allegory is known here, but also the legend of martyrdom, which is told as true, not as in the Roman Church with a warning that it is not vouched for.

In Greek pictures of the combat a rescued lady is not represented, but often the saint is accompanied by a little boy who is understood to be a slave that was given his freedom after praying to St. George to intercede for him. This boy has in his hands a bowl of steaming water for his master to wash his feet, according to the custom of the country as early as the time of Homer. This slave boy is introduced into the legend of St. George as the two black boys are introduced into that of St. Nicholas of Bari, understood to be heathen converted through the saint's mission, and appearing with him not only in his pictures in churches, but also when he comes as Santa Claus to the children of the Netherlands. Then the little black boys carry his bundles and baskets.

The Greeks have great reverence for St. George and his eikon. My informant, a native of Arcadia, told me that when he was a child he was once punished for touching the face of the eikon reverently, but that he was permitted to kiss its feet. In Arcadia St. George's day is

celebrated with feasting, dancing and games, and a local proverb warns people when they live too high, 'It isn't every day St. George's day.' The choicest lamb of the flock is selected long before and is fed more than the rest so that it will be fat and tender. The festivities begin with a race, in which even the priests take part. After the service in the church the lambs are roasted, often on spits in the open.

In Greece and the Balkans the romantic and the religious tales of St. George and the Dragon are sung in popular versions with local colour and the development of a new incident, doubtless consistent with the customs of the land. In the Island of Lesbos, a ballad tells that a monster, established near a fountain, was propitiated each morning and evening with a human being, under threat that it would stop the flow of water. In course of time the king's daughter must be sacrificed. On one side wept the king, and on the other side wept the queen. They wept and cried: 'Alas, our only daughter!' St. George, hearing their lamentations, drew near to save her. Having learnt that the dragon was to eat her, he called to her: 'Come here, my dear; sit down and louse me; and when the water foams, then waken me!' The ballad justifies an inference that she performed the service, for her next speech is: 'Rise up, rise up, O conqueror, for the dragon is sharpening his teeth for me!' Her tears flowed like an impetuous river, and wetted the saint in his armour of gold. He sprang at the winged monster, and with a thrust of his javelin stretched

it dead. The king, in gratitude, offered his daughter in marriage, but St. George replied: 'Instead of calling me thy son-in-law, build a church in the name of Christ.'[1]

A popular ballad of Bosnia locates the combat at a place given as Trojan, whose inhabitants were guilty of various kinds of sin. The Blessed Virgin, having paid them a visit, returned to heaven bathed in tears, and recited in an assembly of the saints a dreadful catalogue of their iniquities. Elijah thundered advice that God send them dreadful maladies, typhus, small-pox and the plague, to convert them from their evil ways. After seven years, however, they were still unconverted. Unseasonable and severe frost and snow were then sent upon them for seven years; and, after that, seven years of drought; but all in vain. Then God made a lake beside the city and in it placed an insatiable dragon, which entered the gates thrice each day, and at every visit devoured three hundred of the people. Besides this multitude, the monster expected every night a fair maiden from the white city of Trojan. At last the turn of Sava, the king's daughter, came, and she was conducted by the nobility of Trojan to the cold waters of the lake, where she was abandoned to her fate. Suddenly a gentle youth appears upon a dappled courser, brandishing his mortal lance. Advancing to the shore he greets the maiden in the name of God, and she graciously returns his salute: 'Life and health to thee, O hero of the dappled steed!'

[1] Hartland, *Perseus*.

He inquires what she is doing there, and she tells her story. He then catechises her further: Has her heart been always pure? Has she always been obedient to her parents? Has she ever adored the god of silver, or the god of gold, to which the people are in the habit of bowing down? When he has been satisfied on these points, he dismounts from his dappled steed, plants his lance in the grass, and says to the princess, 'Pray examine my head a little, for I feel strangely sleepy,' asking the same service rendered by the lady at Lesbos. Under the soothing influence of her hands he falls asleep. Meanwhile the lake rises in waves and the dragon emerges. The bashful maid does not waken her deliverer, but her tears roll down upon his face, and this awakens him. He leaps like one possessed, tears out his lance from the earth, rides his steed up to its knees in the lake, strikes the monster in the jaw with his lance, drags it ashore, binds it with a silken girdle, and puts the girdle into the Princess' hand, directing her to conduct it through the city so as to convert the inhabitants from their infinite wickedness, destroy their gods of silver, worship the true God, and venerate himself, St. George, as their patron. He commands the princess: 'If they will not be converted, set free the insatiable dragon, and he will destroy the people of Trojan.' This proves as efficacious an argument as that of King Olaf, 'Thor's hammer, or Christ's cross,' and they, like the people of the North, choose. The city is converted, and thenceforth prospers in rich harvests of corn and wine under its new patron

saint. The ballad does not tell the fate of the dragon.[1] In this version of the dragon incident the threat is like that in the Greek and Russian versions given by Veselovskij. A version like it is also popular in Servia and Bulgaria.[2]

Often the celebration of St. George's Day in the East has something of patriarchal and pagan practices.[3] In Bulgaria the head of the house picks out the prettiest lamb from his flock, ties its legs together, covers its eyes with a bandage, lights candles on its horns, and makes its sacrifice the centre of the family service. If he can read he reads the story of St. George and appropriate prayers for the day. Lifting the knife, he says: 'You, Holy St. George, for you is this lamb.' The lamb's mouth and forehead are smeared with honey by the elder women of the household, and then it is sacrificed. In one of the nomadic tribes of South-east Russia the best lamb of the field is chosen by each family, the lambs selected are decorated with wreaths and ranged in a circle, and around this circle the maidens and the young men dance and sing. When they have finished they stand while the older men begin the slaughtering. The older women make fires and burn the bandages which were bound over the lambs' eyes, and the bands which bound their legs. The men carry the lambs home and roast them on spits, and when this is done they take them to the hill of St. George, while the women carry a kind of bread and the young maidens

[1] Hartland, *Perseus*. [2] Ibid. [3] Veselovskij.

bring onions and leeks. At the right spot they meet the priest, who reads prayers, performs ceremonies, and takes for his own share of the offering one-fourth part before he permits the people to eat the things they have brought. In certain villages the sacrifice consists of a steer, and the girls perform certain dances, believing that if they do this their bones will never ache with old age. They also pick flowers and field grass, boil them in copper vessels, and knead this into the bread which will be taken to the sacrifice, singing all the while songs about St. George's combat with the three-headed snake. After the feast the maidens and youths dance, play games, and sing songs of St. George. In service the celebration of the day is held with a sacrifice and with conjuring to find out about the marriage which the maidens and youths will make. The maids usually pray to Holy George for a lover, and invite young men friends to eat holiday dishes with them. For their procession they pick out the handsomest youth, decorate him with flowers, put on his head a big round pie decorated with flowers, and have him march at the head of the procession. The pie is eaten in the field when they eat their lunch.

Sometimes the celebration has an element of penance, or tortures, as at Atzhuri, where people from four or five villages celebrate the 'White St. George' every year, continuing the celebration for several days. The day before the holiday the bells summon the people to the church, where they walk over the prostrate form of a woman who has previously offered herself to this service.

She tries to utter no sound of pain and moans only when the suffering is most intense. Outside of the church a good many people are making sacrifices of lambs, where the priest officiates, first setting fire to a lock of wool on the forehead of the lamb and then making an appropriate prayer: 'Take this as a sacrifice from thy servant,' and naming the man who presents the lamb. He is assisted by his deacon and certain others, who have been appointed as worthy to assist in the ceremony, and who, in preparation, for a year or more have given themselves up to long prayers and privations. These men are marked by iron rings, which they wear on their necks, but after the ceremony the deacon cuts off a lock of hair from each man's head, and takes the iron ring from his neck before he dismisses him. Near the church is also a group of women ready to take part in the ceremony. They are dressed in white, and each wears around the neck an iron chain which weighs not less than forty pounds. These women crawl to the church on their knees and fasten lighted candles to its walls. They go around the church in this way, and one of them unrolls a reel of thread around herself. A cry arises, 'Make way,' and a bull with two lighted candles on his horns is quickly led to the priest. He burns off the hair from its forehead, while the people move in very solemn procession to the place where it is to be sacrificed. At midnight watchfires are lighted throughout the region, and salutes are fired. In the churchyard a great number of people gather in a circle and watch devoutly and with bared heads a dance which is performed by a woman clad

in white, within the circle. She moves slowly and solemnly and groans at times, while the circle manifest their excitement and bless the White St. George. The dancing woman is always chosen for her beauty. In Abhastzi honour is shown to St. George by Mohammedans as well as by Christians, the Mohammedans holding their service early in the morning and the Christians after mid-day. A bull or sheep constitutes the sacrifice.

But the valiant megalomartyr George has not always received praise from his worshippers in the East. When the Svenati were attacked and robbed one of the women ran into his church and beat his icon with a twig broom, reproaching him with words: 'Ai! you unkind Holy George! See how your people are beaten by false believers! Help a little!' When she said that the holy one leaped out of his picture on to a horse, and breaking his way up through the ceiling, disappeared. He fell upon the raiding Osatins and conquered them completely. To satisfy the thirst of his steed he struck a rock with the point of his spear, and called forth a spring that can be seen at the present day.

At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war[1] it was reported from St. Petersburg that Russian moujiks were passing from village to village the report that St. George had been seen in the skies leading his hosts to the East against the infidel Japanese. St. George is constantly before the Russians on their imperial insignia, which are on their coins and postage, indeed on all Government

[1] Firth, p. 105.

documents, and so is displayed on all public occasions. In the arms the double-headed eagle supports the shield, which has the device of St. George in combat or a horse only.

Belief that St. George is to be appealed to in time of trouble is very common in the East,[1] and appeals are made, not only by Christians, but by Mohammedans as well, who call upon St. George in time of danger as the Evergreen One—'O Keeder-al-Akder!' In some places Mohammedans march in the procession with the Christians on his day, or in a body somewhat apart. This is the case in the village of Aitha in Syria. In this village, which is between Beirut and Damascus, the main church is St. George's and St. George's Day has great honour. The people of the surrounding country come in holiday attire on the evening of April 22, and attend Mass the next morning. In the afternoon they return to the church, and move in procession from the village to a ruined monastery of St. George which crowns a neighbouring hill, where they hold their service. The priest heads the procession carrying a prayer-book and the eikon of St. George, and with him marches an acolyte bearing a red banner with white crosses, understood to be the flag of the church. The people do not here ascribe to St. George a banner with a red cross on a white field. Bands, or groups, follow the priest and the acolyte, singing songs of St. George and enjoying certain festive exercises, sword play, dancing and improvised songs, which a soloist leads, the band singing the refrain. Arrived at

[1] Salem Gahreeb, notes.

the monastery, all of the groups assemble and hold service, after which they partake of the lunch they have brought with them and have games. These songs of St. George are true folk songs, and have never been put into print. One is from Mount Lebanon, another from Aitha, the latter the composition of the parish priest, who is still living. They tell the combat with the dragon, and that from Aitha ends with a prayer for the author, Joseph Makol:

EULOGY OF MAR JERIUS

In the name of God, O brothers, we give honour
To Holy Jerius, the Megalomartyr.

Seven seasons was he tortured
In the city of the desert of Hawran.

Seven seasons was he tortured,
And him the Lord rewarded.

He was most true of all the Lord's Creation,
And but twenty years his age was.

In Vienna dwelt a tyrant Cæsar
Who to Christians was oppressive.

He summoned many goldsmiths
To fashion for him idols.

They made idols for accursèd Cæsar—
The greatest idol was his god, Apollo.

From the tortures of the accursèd
The Nazarenes took hiding,

In the fields afar they wandered,
Living with the bow and arrow.

Who was richest of the Christians?
Mar Jerius, the Megalomartyr.

Great gifts he gave through joy in his religion,
Made division with the wretched.

A rumour of his deeds reached the accursèd,
Who gave command that he should be imprisoned.

'O fair young man,' they said to Jerius,
'Thy offence will be forgiven,

'If thou wilt kneel to the victorious gods,
In the oracle of great Apollo.

'Come and bow before his idol
And accept both fame and fortune.'

Jerius answered them, 'O foolish mortals,
I shall never worship Satan,

'God is Lord of all Creation,
And he gives men his good Grace.

'His Mother is the Parthenon, the Virgin,
The Virgin, who supreme is among women.'

And now the Cæsar and his guards attendant,
They sawed Mar Jerius' body into pieces,

And gave command that he be burned in fire
Till naught remain of him but smoke and ashes.

Then Cæsar said, 'Now cast him to the winds,
Let breezes bear his ashes to the earth,

'And let his god bring all his dust together—
If he be God, now let him prove his worth.'

An angel came and brought his dust together
And quickly recreated him a man.

And from his mouth the angel spoke a blessing,
Foretelling all that time would bring to hand.

'Thy torture shall endure for seven seasons,
Four deaths thou 'lt die, and thou shalt rise again,

'And live, and bring to life religion,
Therefore, yield not, fair noble man.'

Now Jerius raised the dead to life by praying,
Confounding all his foes, his enemies,

Endured a martyr's death, the seventh season
On the twenty-third day of the month Neisan.

And in the city of Beirut also
When that a dragon threatened all the people,

And kept them prisoners at home in fear,
And made the streets a waste and solitude,

When people spoke together and took counsel
To sacrifice each day a lamb and maiden,

The time came that the king must give his daughter
(King Adrianus was the sovereign's name),

They said, 'O King—and now it is thy duty—
No man would fail to do thy just command,

'So send thy daughter—pardon our demanding—
Now fare she forth, as ours, to save the land.'

He wailed, the heart within him burning;
His tears fell like the rain in autumn storm;

He pled, 'Take all my wealth, and all my kingdom,
But spare to me my daughter—my poor child!

'O cruel kingdom—may it fall in ruin!
O cursèd reign—would I had ne'er been born!'

But, humble-hearted, forth he led his daughter
Down the roadside, and home returned forlorn.

He stood upon the roof and gazed upon her;
He heard her cry aloud with piteous moan.

Now when an hour's time had been completed
The princess saw a fair young knight draw nigh,

And cried, 'Fly hence, O youthful hero!
Here thou canst find no safety. Fly! Oh fly!

'Desire thou not my love and beauty,
Fly, for the mighty drake is coming on.'

'O maid,' Mar Jerius answered, 'be not troubled,
But stand, and in that spot remain,

'Think what thou wilt of me, my strength and purpose,—
To slay the dragon is my duty plain.'

Forth in an instant ramped the fearful monster
With jaws stretched wide, and toward him it came.

His lance he cast into that hungry cavern
And through he thrust—through! The beast fell—and slain!

Now joy to all the people of the city,—
And joy and honour to Mar Jerius!

They brought forth leathern thongs
And o'er the walls they cast the dragon slain.

Then spake the King, 'Young knight, tell, thy desire;
O youth, ask what thou wilt—'

And Jerius answered him, 'Naught will I ask,
But do thou take the precious truth to heart,

'And let me counsel thee and give baptism,
And let me teach Christ's gospel of mercy.'

And then all came, and Jerius baptised them,
None less than all did Jerius baptise;

He gave baptism to three thousand men,
Besides the women and children.

The teller of this tale, Joseph Makol,
Is sad with many sins;
Pray for him, ye who sing
And ye who read this eulogy.

In this song, the refrain is the first stanza.

In the East it is common to hear of St. George appearing to people. In Aitha he appeared in a dream to a man who owned the piece of land next to the church property and who had encroached upon St. George's, to warn him to make restitution. After the vision, the man fell sick, and told that St. George came and stood at his breast telling him that he would die if he kept the land.

He confessed his sin and asked his neighbours to take his possessions off from St. George's land, for he was too ill to do so himself. After they did so he recovered. In another case St. George appeared to a woman who carried two big jars on a mule to get water from a well at Mount Hermon. She was growing old and did not feel able to put the jars on the mule after she had filled them. She had expected to find somebody there who would help her, but was disappointed, so she prayed and cried to St. George to come and help her. He appeared, a bright young man dressed in red, carrying a spear with a red cross at its end, and riding a white horse. He rode toward her, asked her gently what she wanted, and helped her lift the jars. She asked him to guard her while she was going home, and he did so. She has told this story in full faith for years.

Other stories of miracles wrought by St. George in modern times are in print, as that in an authorised *Life of St. George* printed in Athens. Here it is told that a group of boys were playing games in the churchyard, when one of them, who could not jump as far as the rest, prayed the saint to help him to win, vowing an offering of scrambled eggs if his prayer were granted. He then jumped farther than the rest and placed his votive offering in the church on the rail under the icon of his saint. Later two sailors came into the church and did their devotions, until they came to the icon to St. George, and the eggs. They were hungry, and promised the saint to deposit the value of the eggs if they ate them. Then they ate the eggs, and started to go without paying the money, but the saint punished

them by rendering them unable to lift their feet, when they began to repent, and offer vows to make restitution by paying the price, but the saint did not let them go until they had raised the price high.[1]

Throughout Palestine St. George is constantly appealed to for protection against the jinns, the *genii* of the *Arabian Nights*, evil spirits that annoy folk greatly by taking their clothes out of closets and wearing them, troubling the waters of the bath, and doing many other unseemly acts when not prevented by prayers. Christians and Moslems have each their own formulæ. The Christians say, while bathing—

> The Name of God be over us,
> Our protection is in God.
> The Cross cleanse us,
> And protect us.
> The name of the Cross!
> Saint George!
> In the name of the Virgin.
> O Saint Anthony!
> O Saint George!
> O Saint Elias!

The Moslems also call upon El-Chadr, Elijah, or St. George.[2] In Palestine St. George is often in paintings on walls, as in the Chapel of the Monastery of St. Elias near Jerusalem, where a large picture represents him riding, the dragon under the feet of his horse. A chain

[1] *Life of St. George*, pub. Athens, with permission of censor.
[2] *Folk-Lore*, XVII, i. p. 61.

hangs from a fixture between the feet of the horse, and to this insane persons are chained, to be cured by the miraculous power believed to be exercised by the picture.[1] In this vicinity St. George is greatly venerated, and on April 23, his holy day, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, having gone to Lydda with a bishop the night before, officiates at a solemn Mass, as he does in Bethlehem at Christmas.

[1] Salem Ghareeb.

SOME REPRESENTATIONS
OF
ST. GEORGE

1. RAPHAEL, 'St. George in combat,' *Louvre, Paris.*
2. RAPHAEL, 'St. George with the Garter,' *Hermitage, St. Petersburg.*
3. CRIVELLI, 'St. George in combat,' collection of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, *Boston.*
4. PISANELLO, 'St. George liberating the princess,' *Ch. of St. Anastasia, Verona.*
5. ALTICHIERI E AVANZO, 'St. George broken on the wheel,' *Chapel of San Giorgio, Padua.*
6. ALTICHIERI E AVANZO, 'St. George baptising converts,' *Chapel of San Giorgio, Padua.*
7. ALTICHIERI E AVANZO, 'St. George drinking poison,' *Chapel of San Giorgio, Padua.*
8. ALTICHIERI E AVANZO, 'St. George kneeling to be beheaded,' *Chapel of San Giorgio, Padua.*
9. GIOTTO, 'St. George with banner and horse,' *Ch. of San Giorgio in Velabro, Rome.*
10. PAUL VERONESE, 'Martyrdom of St. George,' *Ch. of San Giorgio, Verona.*
11. CARPACCIO, 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of San Giorgio, Schiavoni, Venice.*

12. CARPACCIO, 'St. George with dragon led by girdle,' *Ch. of San Giorgio, Schiavoni, Venice.*
13. CARPACCIO, 'St. George baptising converts,' *Ch. of San Giorgio, Schiavoni, Venice.*
14. MARCO BASAITI, 'St George in combat,' *Accademia, Venice.*
15. ANDREA MANTEGNA, 'St. George with dead dragon,' *Accademia, Venice.*
16. PORDENONE, 'St. George in combat,' *Anticamera Pontificia, Rome.*
17. GIORGONE, 'St. George in combat,' *Corsini Palace, Rome.*
18. BARBOTTI, 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of San Giorgio, Pavia.*
19. FRA BARTOLOMEO, 'Virgin enthroned, with St. George and others,' *Pitti Gallery, Florence.*
20. FRA ANGELICO, 'St George, decorative figure in Descent from Cross,' *Accademia, Venice.*
21. TINTORETTO, 'St. George, St. Margaret and St. Louis,' *Chapel in Ducal Palace, Venice.*
22. CIMA, 'Virgin enthroned, with St. George and other saints,' *Accademia, Venice.*
23. MANSUETI, 'St. George, St. Sebastian and other saints,' *Accademia, Venice.*
24. BELLINI, 'Virgin and Child, St. George and other saints,' *Accademia, Venice.*
25. BELLINI, 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of St. Francis, Pesaro.*
26. BELLINI, 'St. George in combat,' drawing, *Louvre, Paris.*
27. MURANO, 'St. George in combat,' *Martinengo Gallery, Breschia.*
28. ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA, 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of Santa Maria e San Giorgio, Brancoli.*
29. FRANCIA, 'St. George in combat,' *Corsini Gallery, Rome.*
30. BORDON, 'St. George, demi figure,' *Pitti Gallery, Florence.*

31. BORDON, 'St. George in combat,' *Vatican Palace, Rome.*

32. BORDON, 'St. George, St. Mark and St. Nicholas,' *Accademia, Venice.*

33. GENTILE DE FABRIANO, 'St. George and other saints,' *Gallerie des Offices, Florence.*

34. TINTORETTO, 'Virgin and child, with St. George and two Doges,' *Accademia, Venice.*

35. MARESCALCO, 'St. George and St. Girolamo,' *Ch. of Spirito Santo, Venice.*

36. Dosso Dossi, 'Virgin and Child with St. George and St. Michael,' *Pinacoteca, Modena.*

37. —— , "St. George in combat,' three paintings, *Bank of San Giorgio, Genoa.*

38. —— , 'St. George in combat,' mural painting, over door *of Ch. San Giorgio, Genoa.*

39. LANINI, 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of St. Ambrose, Milan.*

40. GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI, 'St. Michael in combat,' *Sforza Castello, Milan.*

41. —— , 'St. George in combat,' *Ch. of St. George, Milan.*

42. Dosso Dossi, 'St George with dragon at feet,' *Galleria Brera, Milan.*

43. COSIME TURA, 'St. George in combat,' *Duomo, Ferrara.*

44. BASAITI, 'St. George and St. Peter, with Virgin and Child,' *Museum, Padua.*

45. LOTTO, 'Virgin and Child with St. George and other saints,' *Municipal Palace, Recanati.*

46. BONSIGNORE, 'St. George attending Virgin enthroned,' *Ch. of St. Bernadine, Verona.*

47. BOCCACCINO, 'St. George with other saints attending Virgin,' *Ch. of St. Peter Martyr, Venice.*

48. PONZONE, 'St. George with other saints,' *Ch. of Santa Maria dell Orto, Venice.*

49. MORETTO DA BRESCHIA, 'St. George attending Virgin,' *Ch. of St. Clement, Breschia.*

50. PALMA IL VECCHIO, 'St. George attending Virgin,' *Ch. of St. Stephen, Vincenza.*

51. CARPACCIO, 'St. George attending Virgin,' *Ch. of San Vitale, Venice.*

52. PARMIGIANINO, 'St. George with horse,' *Ch. of St. John Evangelist, Parma.*

53. GIORGONE, 'Virgin enthroned, St. George and St. Francis,' *Castelfranco, Veneto.*

54. FRANCIA, 'St. George attending Virgin enthroned,' *Altarpiece, Bologna.*

55. PALMA IL VECCHIO, 'St. George in combat,' *Gallery Sir H. Layard, Venice.*

56. ERCOLE GRANDE, 'St. George in combat,' *Corsini Gallery, Rome.*

57. CORREGIO, 'St. George and other Saints attending Virgin,' *Gallery, Dresden.*

58. GIOTTO, 'St. George's combat witnessed from Heaven,' *Illustrated MS. in Vatican Library, Rome.*

59. GARZOLI, Etching of Giotto's, preceding.

60. —— ,'Combat,' *Siena.*

61. —— , 'St. George armed by angels and knighted by Virgin,' *Spanish Altarpiece, South Kensington Museum, London.*

62. —— , 'The dragon devours a child,' *Spanish Altarpiece, South Kensington Museum, London.*

63. —— , 'St. George tying the girdle of Princess on the dragon,' *South Kensington Museum, London. Spanish, 15th Century.*

64. ——, 'St. George fighting with Crusaders against Moors,' *South Kensington Museum, London. Spanish, 15th Century.*

65. —— 'St. George drinking poison and St. George beheaded,' *South Kensington Museum, London, Spanish, 15th Century.*

66. PISANELLO, 'St. George and St. Anthony attending Virgin,' *National Gallery, London.*

67. TINTORETTO, 'St. George in combat,' *National Gallery, London.*

68. RUBENS, 'St. George in combat,' *Queen's Collection, London.* Portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria.

69. VAN DYCK, 'Martyrdom of St. George,' *Collection of Sir Robert Peel, London.*

70. ROSSETTI, 'People appealing to king,' *Collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray.*

71. ROSSETTI, 'Drawing of lots,' *Collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray.*

72. ROSSETTI, 'Princess departing as sacrifice,' *Collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray.*

73. ROSSETTI, 'Combat with dragon,' *Collection of Mr. Fairfax Murray.*

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133. 'St. George,' mosaic *above door of Bank of St. George, Genoa.*

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135. 'St. George in combat,' bronze, *13th century, Prager Schlosse, Prague.*

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161. 'St. George in combat,' over door of *Stadhuis, Brussels.*

162. 'St. George in combat,' on gable of *Le Maison de la Vielle Arbalete, Antwerp.*

163. 'St. George in combat,' relief *in façade of Oude Doelen, Gilde of St. Joris, The Hague.*

164. 'St. George in combat,' relief in stone, among tiles of fireplace, *in Museum Maison du Roi, Brussels*; also

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173. 'St. George, standing,' wooden statue, *Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

174. 'St. George in combat,' on fountain, *Rothenburg.*

175. 'St. Joris in combat,' silver statuette from *Koevorden, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

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195. 'St. George, standing, with dragon,' French statue, *South Kensington Museum, London.*

196. 'St. George in combat,' relief, *early Norman Tomb, Conisborough, Yorkshire.*

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198. 'St. George, standing, with dragon,' statuette, *Basilica, Quebec.*

199. 'Two scenes from Life of St. George,' carved in panel, in relief, French, *in collection of Mr. Salting, South Kensington Museum, London.*

200. 'Three scenes from Life of St, George,' carved in panel of chest, English, from Rufford Abbey, *in South Kensington Museum, London.*

201. 'St. Joris in combat,' on silver beaker of Gilde of St. Joris in Amsterdam, *now in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

202, 203. 'St. Joris in combat,' on (i) silver and (ii) brass drinking cup of Gilde of St. Joris in Middelburg, *now in Museum, Stadhuis, Middelburg.*

'St. Joris in combat' on other relics of Gilde of St. Joris, *Middelburg.*

204 to 207. Intaglio on seal, two metal pendants for chain, relief on pennies, *Museum, Stadhuis, Middelburg.*

208 to 217. 'St. Joris in combat,' on relics of Gilde of St. Joris, Ghent, *now in Museum of Old Church of Carmelites, Ghent*,—two small metal pieces mounted on rosettes, one bone statuette, one metal relief, one large brass plate with relief in centre, one large pendant hanging with red cross from ribbon badge and metal chain, three other metal pendants of same design, silver box with etched cover.

218. 'The George,' gold pendant set with jewels and worn on collar by Order of the Garter.

219. 'St. Joris in combat,' on silver pendant of Archer's Gilde, with arms of Breda, *now in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

220. 'Flemish Gildechains of St. Joris,' *Collection Ostenrieth, Antwerp.*

221. 'Flemish Gildechains of St. Joris,' *Collection of Alphonse de Rothschild, Paris.*

222. 'St. Joris in combat,' wood carving in relief at end of beam, *in Hall of Justice, Stadhuis, Middelburg.*

223–5. 'St. George in combat,' three plaquettes from Enzola, Italy, in collection lent by J. Whitcombe Green, *University Museum, Oxford;* also

226–9. 'St. George in combat,' three other plaquettes in Italian, German and Flemish collection, *Museum, Oxford.*

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237. 'St. George in combat,' emblem of Royal Society of St. George, Great Britain.

238. Medal of 'St. George in combat,' Spanish amulet.

239. Coptic amulet of 'St. George,' Egyptian collection, *British Museum, London.*

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241–6. Insignia, 's Hertogenbosch, Hoorn, Zerikzee, *in Collection of Coins, The Hague.*

247. 'St. George,' equestrian, on testone of Ercole I., Ferrara, Italy, before 1475.

248. 'St. George in combat,' on testone of Ercole I., Ferrara, 1475–1506.

249. 'St. George,' equestrian, Mansfeld thaler, Germany, 13th century.

250. 'St. George in combat,' Mansfeld thaler, 1521, and later.

251. 'St. George in combat,' on George Noble of Henry VIII., England, 1526.

252. 'St. George in combat,' on scudo, Mantua, Italy, 1622.

253. 'St. George in combat,' on Russian coins, sometimes horse only.

254. 'St. George in combat,' on sovereign and other English coins, 18th century.

255. 'St. George in combat,' on copper coins, English, 19th century.

256. 'St. George in combat,' on old abbatial coins of Rouen.

257. 'St. George in combat,' on 'penningen' of Guilds of St. Joris, perhaps not for circulation as currency, as at the Hague.

258. Cartoon, 'St. George killing dragon of discontent, with constitution,' *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

259. Cartoon, 'St. George in combat with quacksalvere dragon,' *Amerika, Madison.*

260. Cartoon, 'Speaker Henderson in combat with trust dragon,' *Journal, Minneapolis.*

261. Cartoon, 'St. Teddy in combat with dollar dragon,' *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

262. Cartoon, 'St. George (Mr. Bryan) and the defenceless trust dragon,' *Johnson, in Wiltshire's.*

263. Procession of Drachenstich at Furth im Wald, with floats, equestrian knight, and dragon.

264. 'St. George in combat,' statuette, *presented to 2nd Battalion 5th Fusiliers, England, 1858.*

265. 'St. George, standing, with dead dragon,' *Ch. of St. George, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*

266. 'St. George in combat,' *Walter Crane.*

267. 'St. George in combat,' drawing from Abyssinian panel, *by Major Lindberg.*

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